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THE EXPANSION
of
SOUTH CAROLINA

1729—1765

By
ROBERT L. MERIWETHER

*Professor of History
University of South Carolina*

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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To
J. G. M.
And
H. O. M.

PREFACE

The peoples who settled in the uplands bordering the southern Blue Ridge and in corresponding areas of the northern colonies established a new and distinct American frontier. There was an essential unity in this "Old West," as F. J. Turner pointed out in 1908, but while similarity of industry and society bound its settlers together, other forces and factors split the section into segments. The first advance into the back country was by rivers and land routes from the nearest seaboard communities; colonial boundaries paralleled these natural transportation lines and cut across the piedmont. Thus provincial expansion and political authority established ties with the coast which were strengthened as trade increased. At the same time strong sectional feeling was developing, the South Carolina phase of which is effectively traced in W. A. Schaper's "Sectionalism and Representation."

The process which filled the back country with small farmers was not the only colonial expansion. An older and more spectacular movement, long before the settlement of the piedmont, carried English trade and influence into the heart of the continent. The earlier chapters of this story have been written with rare skill by Verner W. Crane in his *Southern Frontier*. The progress of the South Carolina back country, as in the case of several other colonies, was at times profoundly affected by the Indian trade and its accompanying alliances, and a subordinate but important part of my work has been to set forth, from a superabundance of material, the later stages of imperial development.

For the actual processes of South Carolina settlement—the primary concern of this book—there are, in comparison with other states, enormous and surprisingly complete records. Of material for some of the most important phases of intellectual life and daily routine, however, there is little or none. It is partly to compensate for the incompleteness of the picture, partly for their own inherent interest, that I have devoted so much attention to the prosaic yet eloquent records of individual settlers in their eager quest of land.

This volume began with settlement and frontier studies under Professors M. W. Jernegan and W. E. Dodd of the University of Chicago. It has been completed under the supervision of Professor E. B. Greene of Columbia University, to whom grateful thanks are tendered for counsel and assistance. Professors G. P. Voigt of Wittenberg College, Ohio, and J. H. Easterby of the College of Charleston, and Miss Leah Townsend of Florence, South Carolina, have read portions of the manuscript and have given aid on difficult problems. Professor D. D. Wallace of Wofford College offered helpful criticisms on the draft of the first nine chapters which he had

in hand while writing the first volume of his *History of South Carolina*, and suggested additional material. Professor J. A. Krout of Columbia University, Miss Anne King Gregorie of Columbia, South Carolina, and Mr. C. L. Epting of Clemson College, have likewise read portions of the manuscript and made suggestions. The Social Science Research Council assisted by a grant covering a summer's work. My chief debt, however, is to my wife, Margaret Babcock Meriwether, for invaluable aid in the task of revision and in reading proof.

Among curators and librarians I am most of all obliged to Mr. A. S. Salley, Secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, who gave every facility for use of the records in his custody, secured duplicates from the British Public Record Office when this research disclosed gaps in series, and constantly assisted in identification of material. To Miss Harriet J. Clarkson and Mr. F. M. Hutson of the Historical Commission staff, to the staff of the office of the Secretary of State, and to Miss Mabel L. Webber, Secretary of the South Carolina Historical Society, are due likewise cordial appreciation and thanks. The gracious aid of Miss Ellen M. Fitzsimons, Librarian of the Charleston Library Society, and the help of her assistants, made the use of the files of newspapers there a pleasure. I am also indebted to the custodians of other libraries and offices noted in the bibliography and footnotes.

This list of acknowledgements would not be complete without grateful mention of the fine courtesy and helpfulness of farmers, tenants and field laborers who discussed with me soil problems and helped to identify forgotten roads and sites of the old back country.

ROBERT L. MERIWETHER.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CSCHS: Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society

JC: Journal of the Council

JCHA: Journal of the Commons House of Assembly

JUHA: Journal of the Upper House of Assembly

P: Plats

PR: Public Records of South Carolina

SCAGG: South Carolina and American General Gazette

SCG: South Carolina Gazette

SCGCJ: South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal

SCHGM: South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine

Stats: Statutes at Large of South Carolina

THE BACKGROUND OF EXPANSION

CHAPTER I

SOUTH CAROLINA IN 1729

It was in the year 1719 that the impatient South Carolinians overthrew the rule of the Lords Proprietors, but ten years passed before the leisurely negotiations were completed which transferred the great realm to the crown. The southern colony was at that time a squat triangle of settlement the base of which was the coast between Winyah Bay and Port Royal Sound, its apex the great bend of the Santee fifty miles inland, its white population ten thousand, its slaves twice that number. Two generations of Carolinians had laid the foundations of an English society and had brought their institutions to such maturity that they were to continue unchanged and dominant to 1776. Now, under the immediate protection of the British government and with a more liberal colonial administration, South Carolina was in position to receive its full share of the great German and Scotch-Irish migration which was already filling up the colonies to the north. An even more important result of the ending of Proprietary rule was the setting free of forces within the province to exploit its resources and to grapple with its peculiar problems.

The area of the present state of South Carolina is divided by the sand hills and the "fall line" into two sections, the low country or coastal plain, and the "up country" or piedmont. The former, nearly two-thirds of the whole, was until comparatively recent geologic ages covered by the sea, and the sand hills, veritable little mountains near the rivers but practically disappearing at points between, mark the former sea coast. The low country is itself composed of the upper and lower pine belts. The tide-water portion of the lower pine belt is a strip about thirty miles wide in the south narrowing to ten or fifteen beyond the Santee. It is traversed by a dozen considerable rivers and along the coast is cut into a fringe of islands by salt creeks and inlets which were navigable for the small boats of the eighteenth century.¹

¹ See H. H. Bennett, *Soils and Agriculture of the Southern States* (New York, 1921), pp. 54-62; United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Soils, *Field Operations of the Bureau of Soils*, 1904, 1911, 1918 (Washington, 1905, 1914, 1924), Surveys of Charleston Area, Georgetown County, Horry County. Compare early descriptions, A. S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina* (New York, 1911), pp. 88-93, 101-104, 130, 170-171, 290; B. R. Carroll, ed., *Historical Collections of South Carolina* (2 vols., New York, 1836), I, 75-77, II, 467-468; *American Husbandry* (2 vols., London, 1775), I, 384-387; William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida* (London, 1794), pp. 28-32.

The swamp or marsh, sometimes several miles wide, bordering all these streams is interrupted from time to time by low bluffs abutting squarely upon the water. Among the islands and for a short distance above, the water is salt and is flanked by marsh grass only, but beyond this the tides are fresh and flow through jungles of cypress, bay and gum. Above the tide level in either portion are also to be found small creeks and lakes similarly wooded, or even meadow-like savannas.

Scattered about in this half-drowned coast country lie high and dry areas, sometimes of large extent, originally covered with forests. Along the sea islands great live oaks overlooked the shining stretches of bay and sound, while farther back long-leaf pines made a grave and spacious contrast to the dense growth bordering the clean dark streams. In the colonial period these dry portions were yielding good crops of corn, large amounts of naval stores, and pasturage for stocks of cattle and hogs. This soil was likewise used for the first experiments in growing rice, but the discovery was soon made that the wet black mold of the swamps was ideal for its production, and the new crop speedily became the staple of the province.

The constant need of rice for water caused some planters before the middle of the century to dam the small streams for reservoirs from which they periodically watered the fields. By the end of the colonial period attempts had been made to control the growth of plant and weeds by alternately flooding and draining the fields. This method, transferred to the freshwater portion of the tide lands after the Revolution, was developed into the famous water culture. But in 1729 the planters for the most part merely selected the swamps of those streams, small or large, which were out of reach of the tides and depended on the hoe for cultivation.²

Most of the swamp area was a dead loss even for rice growing because of standing water or sheer inaccessibility, and an adequate amount of high land and desirable swamp was hard to secure except by taking up large tracts. Rice was an extremely heavy crop, and the planter sought to have his plantation front on navigable water whence he had ready access to the sea. Through the streams that fell into Charleston harbor, or through the inland passage from Charleston to the Savannah, boats from half the tide-water area could reach the town without touching the ocean.

The work of clearing the ground, cultivating the plant, and cleaning the grain from the husk was arduous in the extreme, and in the hot wet swamp land only negroes could well endure it. Therefore the importation of slaves kept pace with the increase of the crop and early made South Carolina a region of large plantations, though the total acreage tended to

² Letter of Agricola, *South Carolina Gazette* (cited as *SCG*), Oct. 8, 1744; Carroll, *Collections*, II, 201-202; *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (cited as *SCHGM*), XXXII, 85-86; Lionel Chalmers, *Account of the Weather and Diseases of South Carolina* (2 vols., London, 1776), I, 3-41; *American Husbandry*, I, 391-394; U. B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929), pp. 116-117. See also below, p. 109.

remain within moderate limits. By quit rents, sales, taxes, and settlement requirements, the Proprietors and the assembly restricted landholding. Furthermore, for the twenty years preceding 1731, the land office was practically closed, although from time to time the Proprietors made individual grants of great tracts for little or nothing. However, the provincial taxes fell heavily on land, and the grantees were often in no hurry to assume their obligations by fixing upon a site and surveying it.³

In 1720 there were 1,163,239 acres on the tax books, between five and six percent of which was in the parish of St. Philip, Charleston. Thus for the rural districts the acreage per capita was 71.⁴ Estimating the possible number of rural laborers at 7,000 or 7,500,⁵ the average amount of land to each was about 150 acres. In 1731 the taxed lands were 1,453,875 acres, but the slave population had increased nearly seventy percent, and the white about fifty,⁶ so that the acreage for each possible rural laborer had fallen to about 110. Large stretches of pine barren, marsh and irreclaimable swamp were included in these holdings. For a new country the amount was not excessive.⁷

³ Edward McCrady, *History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719* (New York, 1897), pp. 190, 279, 284, 554, n. 1, 557, n. 3, 580-581, 718-719; *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, ed. by Thomas Cooper and D. J. McCord (9 vols., Columbia, 1836-1841—cited as *Stats.*), III, 34-38, 69-84, 257-265; Public Records of South Carolina, MS (bound copies of records in British Public Record Office; the accompanying identification will serve for reference to these papers, whether in the original or in print—cited as PR), XIII, 422 (Governor Robert Johnson to Board of Trade, Dec. 19, 1729).

⁴ PR, IX, 23 (James Moore, Mar. 21, 1721). The white population in 1719 was about 6,400, the slave 11,828. Charleston had about 1,400 whites and 1,400 slaves—see *ibid.* and Edward McCrady, *History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York, 1899), p. 807. The tax returns appear to be a fair indication of the holdings of land. For instance in 1770 Lieutenant-Governor Bull, the younger, said that "several hundred thousand" acres granted were not taxed, "owned, perhaps chiefly, by non-residents" (PR, XXXII, 400—Representation, Nov. 30). A single tract doubtless accounted for nearly 200,000 acres of this—the Hamilton survey in the back country (below, pp. 125-127, *SCG*, June 12, 1762, advertisement of Miles Brewton *et. al.*). For difficulties in the way of collecting taxes on lands of non-residents see *Stats.*, III, 439, IV, 270-271.

⁵ That is, white males and slaves able to work. Using the basis later given by Lieutenant-Governor Bull for calculation (see PR XXVIII, 352—to Board, May 29, 1760), there were in South Carolina outside of Charleston in 1720 5,300 slaves and 1,000 white males over sixteen. However, the number of negro laborers was much larger than the number from sixteen to sixty. The number of slaves between seven and sixty necessary to make up the South Carolina tax of 1724 (*Stats.*, III, 207) after deducting a land tax based on the provincial and St. Philip's acreage (PR, XXI, 346—Benjamin Whitaker, Observations [etc.] enclosed with his letter to Board, June 25, 1744), was about 9,200, or about two-thirds the slave population.

⁶ See PR, XV, 213 (Benjamin Whitaker, Sept. 21, 1732, received by Board Dec. 1, 1732), 87, 229 (Johnson to Board, received Jan. 26, Dec. 22, 1732), 163 (James St. John to Board, received Sept. 6, 1732).

⁷ In 1733 Governor Burrington estimated the North Carolina population at thirty thousand whites and six thousand negroes—a larger population than that of South Carolina at that time, but perhaps a smaller labor force (*Colonial Records of North Carolina*—10 vols., Raleigh, 1886-1890—III, 433), and in 1736 put the amount of land held at three million acres (*ibid.*, IV, 158).

The rice production doubled during this decade; Charleston became a flourishing town of 3,000 souls, and the total exports amounted to £100,000.⁸ With the rice market good and the supply of negroes increasing, the possibilities for wealth in the region between Cape Fear and the Altamaha River seemed almost unlimited. The white population however increased slowly, and in 1729 was less than a third of the total of 30,000. What visions of expansion and greater wealth the planters had were clouded by the danger of insurrection by the new and half-savage slaves. Formerly the problems of defense had been largely external, represented by the Spaniard and the Indian, but by 1729 there had come about a fundamental change. Letters and papers of the time are full of allusions to the peril, and for forty years it remained perhaps the strongest influence in the province on public policy.⁹

South Carolina was thus a comparatively small community with interests nearly uniform and it is not surprising that its local government was so little developed. The vestries, church wardens and rectors of the parishes were elected; the parish government, besides providing for the church, had the care of the poor and conduct of elections.¹⁰ The militia officers and the justices of the peace were appointed by the governor, and the road commissioners by the assembly. These offices carried no salaries, however, and the appointees were necessarily of the community. As long as the population was small and the province compact this system made for efficiency and good government.

Charleston and its flourishing trade presented the only serious threat to this unity. The merchants were creditors of the planters, and the interests of the two occasionally came into violent conflict. But after all Charleston was the planters' rather than the merchants' city. It was to a surprising extent the gathering point for all the resources and forces of the province, and the center from which practically all social influence and political control were exercised. Here in the late autumn met the General Assembly, the elective branch of which—the Commons House—was made up chiefly of planters, although the Charleston lawyers were an important factor.¹¹ By an act of 1721 the Commons was made a body of thirty-six

⁸ PR, XIV, 32 (below, p. 19, n. 7), XV, 66–68 (Johnson to Board, Dec. 16, 1731), 229 (above, n. 6).

⁹ For instances, see PR, VIII, 67 (Joseph Boone . . . , received by Board Aug. 23, 1720), XIII, 24 (Representation . . . St. Paul's and St. Bartholomew's, received by Board Apr. 5, 1728), XVI, 398–399, XVII, 300 (below, p. 22, n. 14), XVIII, 172–173 (below, p. 27, n. 28); Journal of the Upper House of Assembly, MS (cited as JUHA), Feb. 26, 1734; Journal of the Council, MS (cited as JC), July 12, 1751; *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society* (5 vols., Charleston, 1857–1897—cited as *CSCHS*), I, 252; *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, II, 421; Letter on Jamaica slave insurrection, *SCG*, July 1, 1732; *Essay on Currency*, pp. 4 and 17.

¹⁰ *Stats.*, II, 287–291, 594, III, 51.

¹¹ Compare the list of lawyers with that of the speakers of the Commons—McCrady, *S. C. under the Royal Government*, pp. 475, 802.

members from eleven parishes, the representation varying from two to five. In the royal as in the Proprietary period the House was the chief power in the province. Individually and as a body its members had the political skill that came from long experience and careful attention to the affairs of government. Equally great was their self-confidence, the result of successful struggles with the Proprietors and constant grappling with the dangers that beset the isolated colony. French, Spanish and pirate attacks they had weathered or even signally defeated, and to their brilliant defense in the great Yamasee war of 1715 they looked back as to an heroic age. Finally in 1719 the Proprietors themselves, for years regarded as enemies, had been overthrown by the Commons.¹²

The governor's title was the highest in the colony, and he still had much authority. He was commander-in-chief of the militia and appointed its officers as well as the justices of the peace. He could call or dissolve the assembly and veto its acts. But his authority was closely restricted by the Commons' control of taxes and appropriations from which were paid three-fourths of the expenses of the government, including the salaries of the governor and chief justice and the pay of the garrisons and troops.¹³ The transfer to royal government materially strengthened the position of the executive without altering these powers, for the cumbersome and inefficient machinery of the British colonial system had little more than negative means of enforcing its orders. The crown like its governor had the rights of veto, appointment and removal, and as important were the favors that might be granted by the British government—bounties for products, relief from some pinch of the navigation acts, and defense for the province by ships of war or troops.

Between the governor and the Commons House—between the province and the crown, in fact—stood the council, in a position anomalous but strategic. It advised the governor in all administrative matters and was likewise the upper house of assembly; its members were appointed by the crown, but were themselves well-to-do planters or merchants and drew no pay. They were therefore dependent upon neither governor nor Commons, and during the next thirty years rendered the province a service so generally excellent as to command almost unfailing respect. But the high honor of the position and the natural tendency of a body to increase its power caused the council to support the crown rather than the Commons where the prerogative or executive control was concerned.

The usual point at issue between executive and Commons was, of course, the amount of taxes and appropriations. The governor, having the responsibility for the government, called for liberal expenditures, while the Commons, representing the taxpayers and themselves paying large

¹² *Stats.*, III, 137, JC, June 27, 1744, below, p. 234, *SCG*, June 2, 1766.

¹³ See, for instance, *Stats.*, III, 186-188; W. R. Smith, *South Carolina as a Royal Province, 1719-1776* (New York, 1903), p. 334.

amounts, were careful to the point of stinginess. Bound up with this issue was the problem of a medium of exchange. The province exported food-stuffs and raw material and imported manufactured goods and slaves; the balance of trade was therefore heavily against it, and the planters were almost invariably in debt. Even in good times the currency was often insufficient for ordinary expenses of making or moving the crops, and, when business depression or an emergency entailing extraordinary government expense came upon the province, the planter bore a crushing burden of debt and taxes.¹⁴

The natural resort at such times was to issues of legal tender notes, with or without adequate provision for redemption. Thus the crisis was tided over without additional taxes, conduct of business was made easier by the increase of money in circulation, and last but hardly least the prompt depreciation of the currency resulted in a fifteen to thirty percent decrease in debts. When the Proprietary government was overthrown in 1719 the paper money in circulation had a face value of about eighty thousand pounds, but in sterling was worth only one-fifth that amount. Throughout the following decade the Commons fought to prevent the retiring of this money and even attempted to increase it. In 1723 when the desperate Charleston merchants protested against a new attack upon the debts due them, by a bill to increase the paper money by fifty percent, they were put under arrest for slander and contempt. During the dissension, the worst in the province since the fight over the establishment of the Anglican Church twenty years before, the council rather than the governor sided with the merchants. In this case, however, both yielded to pressure and the measure passed.¹⁵

The act was promptly repealed by the crown, and the London merchants petitioning for the removal of the too sympathetic Governor Nicholson, he was recalled two years later. Meanwhile he had, as ordered by the crown, secured from the assembly a law for retiring practically half the entire paper money of the province. This was to be done in annual installments as it was paid in for customs duties. The Commons almost immediately repented its action, which would in effect double all debts. The continued attacks by the Indians or escaped slaves, instigated by the Spanish, added to the expenses of the government, and made the planters fear complete ruin if the law of 1724 were to run its full course.¹⁶ Their representatives were amazingly fertile during the next six years in expedients for staving off the evil day. The council and its senior member,

¹⁴ See H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (4 vols., New York, 1924), II, 373-375, *Stats.*, III, 105-106, 188, IX, 759.

¹⁵ *Stats.*, III, 188-193, IX, 770-776, Smith, *S. C. as a Royal Province*, pp. 235-240, PR, XIII, 270-335 (Representation of S. C. Council, Dec. 19, 1728).

¹⁶ PR, XI, 231-235 (Petition of merchants to crown, Oct. 16, 1724), Osgood, *Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 376, *Stats.*, III, 219-221. See also PR, XIII, 61-70 (President Arthur Middleton, June 13, 1728).

Arthur Middleton, who now presided in the absence of the governor, were equally determined on enforcement and the contest culminated in rioting and a complete deadlock that lasted from 1727 to the end of 1730. At that time the paper money amounted to £106,500, and its value was one-seventh that of sterling.¹⁷ Meanwhile some of the more moderate spirits were working earnestly on this as well as on the greater problem of the slave population. In 1730 a solution of the two was presented in the shape of the new expansion policy.

The ten or fifteen mile stretch of the lower pine belt adjoining the tidewater enjoyed advantages of transportation that made it practically a part of that more favored section, but beyond there was little to redeem the region. It was monotonously level and a fine compact sand prevailed; save for occasional gentle slopes near the streams and elsewhere the soil was poor and the drainage bad. Everywhere except in the swamps grew the long-leaf pine, often to the exclusion of other trees. These splendid but solemn vistas early gained for these districts the name of "pine barrens".¹⁸

The upper pine belt was far better suited to the purposes of the early settler. It offered broad areas of nearly level or gently rolling land covered with pine or oak and the soil, a sandy loam, was easily worked and fertile though not rich. Bordering the streams or shallow lakes were cypress and gum swamps varying in width from a few yards to several miles. These swamps might tempt the rice planter, but neither in soil nor advantages of transportation could they compare with the tidewater.¹⁹ Northwest of this section the sand hills—wastes of coarse sand covered with scrub oak or pine—partially blocked the river valleys, the natural lines of communication between low country and piedmont, and for generations served as barrier as well as dividing line between them. Further-

¹⁷ *Stats.*, IX, 776, 779. This ratio continued with few fluctuations until the Revolution—see for instance *ibid.*, p. 780, III, 482, D. D. Wallace, *The History of South Carolina* (4 vols., New York, 1934), I, 315—and was the standard for salaries and payments in the province. In this work all figures are given in sterling at this rate unless otherwise stated, fractions of pounds being usually disregarded. The "proclamation money" often referred to in the records was not a real money, but an attempted standard for valuation of foreign coins set by royal proclamation. "Four pounds proclamation money" was about three pounds sterling. See Osgood, *Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, I, 225; *Stats.*, II, 563-565, III, 701; JC, Mar. 3, 1732.

¹⁸ PR, XIV, 30 (Johnson to Board, Jan. 2, 1729), 261-262 (Thomas Lowndes to Board, Aug. 26, 1730), XXI, 101 (below, p. 81, n. 6). The lower pine belt in fact extends quite to the coast, but in the eighteenth century the problem of transportation alone made of the tidewater portion of it a separate section. For descriptions see Bennett, *Soils of the Southern States*, pp. 54-57, and Bureau of Soils, *Field Operations*, 1915, 1916, 1910, 1914 (Washington, 1919, 1921, 1912, 1919), Hampton, Dorchester, Berkeley, Clarendon, Florence.

¹⁹ See Bennett, *Soils of the Southern States*, pp. 60-62; Bureau of Soils, *Field Operations*, 1912, 1913, 1904, 1907, 1902, 1917, (Washington, 1915, 1916, 1905, 1909, 1903, 1923), Barnwell, Bamberg, Orangeburg, Orangeburg Area, Sumter, Darlington Area, Marlboro.

more, navigation of rivers was halted at the upper edge of the sand hills by outcrops of rock which formed the shoals and low falls of the "fall line". The pine belts, between the tidewater and the sand hills, seemed designed by nature to form a distinct section, a transition from the tidewater to the piedmont—the middle country as it was occasionally called in later times.

The first occupation of this middle country was military, and before 1720 a line of garrisons marked off the territory that the province was forty years in settling. In the Yamasee War of 1715 South Carolina narrowly escaped destruction, and the continuation of Indian attacks for several years thereafter caused the assembly to establish four garrisons for the defense of the frontier; the first two, provided for in 1716, were placed at Port Royal and Savannah Town. Fort Moore, for the second garrison, was built on a high bluff on the east bank of the Savannah River, about six miles below the later town of Augusta.²⁰ For trade with the Indians and defense against them it was the chief gateway to the South Carolina tidewater, as it was on the regular route from the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws and part of the Cherokees. Between Charleston and Fort Moore freight seems to have gone almost entirely by water, using the river and the inland passage through the islands. There was likewise a path overland which ran through Dorchester, crossed the Edisto immediately below the mouth of Four Hole Swamp, then followed the South Fork for about thirty miles before striking across to the Savannah at Silver Bluff or Town Creek.²¹

The only other entry from the southwest was by the Pallachuccolas, a crossing of the Savannah about sixty miles from its mouth. Here in 1717 the assembly stationed a company of rangers, and in 1722 ordered the construction of "a small Pallisado Fort, and convenient huts to lodge in." This garrison was maintained until 1735, although its work was partly done by a fort built later on the Altamaha.²²

²⁰ See *CSCHS*, II, 231-232, 235, *Stats.*, II, 691, III, 8. Fort Moore was on the site of the chief town of the Savannahs, a branch of the Shawnees, who abandoned it a few years later, probably about 1720. The bluff is immediately below the mouth of Horse Creek. See John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), pp. 317-318; *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, II, 422; Henry Mouzon, *Map of North and South Carolina* (London, 1775).

²¹ The loaded boats drew three or four feet of water and carried forty barrels of rice. See Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, MS (cited as JCHA), Jan. 27, 1733; Feb. 10, 1737, and V. W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Durham, 1928), p. 128. For the land route see entries in Thomas Bosomworth's journal (Indian Books, MS, III, 23-149), pp. 23-24, 115; *Year Book, City of Charleston*, 1894, pp. 325-326; Swanton, *Creek Indians*, Plate 3; Plats, MS (cited as P), III, 176, VI, 245, 299; "Tobler Manuscripts" (see below, p. 67, n. 3), pp. 89-91, 94-95. For identification of the streams see maps of Barnwell and Colleton Districts in Robert Mills, *Atlas of the State of South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1825).

²² *Stats.*, III, 24, 180, Smith, *S. C. as a Royal Province*, p. 209.

The garrison at Fort Moore early became a nucleus for the most important Indian trading town that provincial South Carolina developed. Most of the men who came there were transients, Indian traders who received goods for the trade and brought back the deerskins. A few were employed in keeping the stores or raising cattle. The assembly, wishing to build up a permanent settlement—doubtless in the hope of shifting to it the burden of defending this gateway—in 1721 enacted a law forbidding the execution of any civil writ of thirty pounds or less upon any person residing beyond the Three Runs, about twenty miles south of Fort Moore; property of these persons was exempted from taxation, and their cattle when driven to the settlements could not be seized for debt. For the frontiersmen seeking these privileges a town was ordered laid out about Fort Moore to consist of three hundred half-acre lots with one thousand acres for a common; this provision was not carried out, however, because of the refusal of the Proprietors to grant any land after the Revolution of 1719.²³

Seventy miles east of Fort Moore the sand hill barrier was pierced by the Congaree River. Along its west bank ran the Cherokee path, soon to become the most noted of the South Carolina routes to the Indian country and eventually the chief highway of the province and state. However, the Catawabas were a small tribe, the Cherokee trade was not well developed—"they being but ordinary Hunters & less Warriors", Governor Nathaniel Johnson explained in 1708—and Virginia sent traders to both nations. Consequently the northern Carolina traffic was small in comparison with that of the southwest. Goods and traders came up the Cooper River to Strawberry, about thirty miles from Charleston, or by pack train along the road to the west of the river. Thence the path led across to Eutaw Springs on the Santee, but presently turned northwest skirting Halfway Swamp and kept the high ground a few miles from the river until it neared Congaree Creek. There was some navigation of the Santee, but land transportation was more important.²⁴

On the west side of the Congaree a petty tribe lived and hunted until the Yamasee War, when they retired to their kinsmen the Catawbas. Not only was their name given to the river itself and to a fine bold creek running into it three miles below the shoals, but the northern part of the valley was known till the Revolution as "the Congarees". In 1717 the assembly provided that one of the four frontier garrisons—a captain and a dozen

²³ JCHA Mar. 17, 1731, *Stats.*, III, 122-124. This was repeated in an act of the next year (pp. 176-178). The exemption was for seven years. For the "town" see PR XII, 42 (Enclosure No. 4, Middleton to Gov. Nicholson, May 1726); the same privileges were given the Pallachuccola garrison (*Stats.*, III, 182), but no settlement appears to have resulted.

²⁴ PR, V, 209 (to Board, Sept. 17, 1708); JCHA May 23, 1734; *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (26 vols., Atlanta, 1904-1916) IV, 666; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, p. 129; A. S. Salley, Jr., *George Hunter's Map of the Cherokee Country* . . . (Columbia, 1917).

men—should be placed on the north side of the creek near its mouth. From this point the Cherokee path ran northwest along the high ground a few miles west of the Saluda to Ninety Six, while the Catawba path crossed the Congaree and ran north toward the Catawba towns a few miles south of the later North Carolina line. The resolution of the assembly in 1722 which directed the discharge of the Congaree garrison gave the provisions, with ten pounds of powder and twenty-five pounds of shot, to “the people that remain there”, and these settlers, attracted chiefly by the possibilities of the Indian trade, were doubtless the beginning of a permanent white population.²⁵

There were other inhabitants of the middle country, but these too, whether white or Indian, were chiefly on its borders. Generally adjoining the tidewater, but at times on the frontier, were the cowpens, as the larger cattle-raising establishments were called. The cattle ranged for miles and were brought to the enclosures at regular intervals for branding. The cowpens were of course owned by men of considerable capital, but the following description of one of their employees is probably typical: “This North is a very mean and inconsiderable person one of those who in this country are called Cattle Hunters These sort of people from their continual ranging the Woods are better acquainted with the land than any other set of men”. Negroes were also used for this work.²⁶

Since the expulsion of the Yamasees in 1715 there was no large tribe of Indians left within the middle country, but it still boasted some remnants of red peoples who at times played a part in the affairs of the province. Indeed the tidewater itself had fragments of the Ittewans, Cussoes, Winyaws, “Cape Fairs”, St. Helenas, and others. They were quite inoffensive, and were valued for their services in hunting runaway negroes. In the Stono insurrection of 1739 they killed three of the rebellious slaves and aided in the capture of others. They were allowed complete freedom in the settlements, but were subject to control by the justices of the peace, who could have them whipped for misbehavior.²⁷ On the borders of the middle country were other small tribes living under the same regulations and similarly valued though not so well behaved—the Uchees on the Savannah below Fort Moore, a few Creeks about the Palachuccolas, the Waccamaws beyond the Santee, and the Peepees on the river of that name. The Tuscaroras were still further northeast, in North

²⁵ James Mooney, *Siouan Tribes of the East* (Washington, 1894), p. 80, *Stats.*, III, 24. For location of the post see William Faden, *Map of South Carolina . . .* (London, 1780); George Haig, *Map of the Townships and of the Cherokee Country*, MS; JCHA, June 14, 1722; below, p. 53.

²⁶ See JCHA, June 14, 1722; JUHA, Dec. 15, 1732; *SCG*, Feb. 15, 1735; P, III, 21; *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, IV, 314–315; PR, XV, 210 (Benjamin Whitaker, Sept. 21, 1732, received by Board Dec. 1, 1732).

²⁷ JC, Mar. 1, Dec. 16, 1743, July 6, 1750, May 20, 1751; JCHA May 12, 1731, Feb. 4, 1734, Nov. 29, 1739; *Stats.*, III, 327, 332.

Carolina, and were consistently enemies of the southern province and its Indians.²⁸

Ninety miles north of the Congarees dwelt the Catawbias who were, to all intents, another frontier garrison. They were the bitter enemies of the Iroquois of New York and almost as hostile to their neighbors the Cherokees, who were of Iroquoian stock. From the South Carolina standpoint their position was almost ideal, for invaders from the north must pass near them. In 1729 they numbered, including the Waterees, about four hundred warriors. Soon afterwards the Cheraws and some of the Peepees joined them, but liquor, smallpox, the advance of South Carolina settlement and the ceaseless attacks of the Iroquois thinned them in a single generation to a beggarly band of four score that often depended on the charity of the South Carolina government. The presence on the northern border of the faithful and courageous warriors was itself more than recompense for these doles, but the Catawbias further served the colony by coming down from time to time to hunt negroes out of the swamps and were counted as part of the available military force of the province.²⁹

Two hundred miles from the Congarees and four hundred from Fort Moore lay the country of the greater Indian nations of the southwest, and the outermost circle of South Carolina interest. The three thousand warriors and the fifty or sixty towns of the Cherokee tribe were settled in four divisions in the southern mountains. On the Keowee and other waters of the Savannah River were the Lower Towns; across the Blue Ridge were the Middle Settlements, the most important division, holding the upper branches of the Little Tennessee; fifty miles below them were the Overhills, while farther west on the Hiwassee were the Valley Towns. The Lower Towns were practically in the Carolina piedmont; the others were reached only by passes through the lofty mountains that were dangerous even for pack trains. The Cherokees were the most intelligent and civilized of the southern tribes, but not the most warlike. They were dominated by the Iroquois and bullied by other northern Indians. Their confederacy was a very loose union over which an Overhills chief presided, but neither he nor the headmen of the individual towns had any real control. From an early date the South Carolinians considered the Cherokee country an open door to their province, a threat to their safety second only to the slave problem. From the Mississippi valley the French could attack the Cherokees with ease; with even greater facility the Cherokees could devastate South

²⁸ JC, Mar. 19, 1731, May 26, Aug. 27, 1742, Aug. 17, 1743; JUHA, Mar. 20, May 29, 1735, May 25, 29, 1742; JCHA, Apr. 18, 1733, Nov. 13, 1734, May 27, 1742; *Stats.*, III, 142; below, pp. 73-74, 93.

²⁹ Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, p. 73, James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 223-224; below, p. 93; JC, Apr. 14, Dec. 14, 1743; JCHA, Mar. 1, 1743, June 8, 1748, Nov. 25, 1755; PR, XX, 180, XXVIII, 352 (below, p. 26, n. 26, above, p. 5, n. 5); SCG, Aug. 9, 1760; JUHA, May 29, 1735, July 8, 1742.

Carolina, while a counter-attack across the mountain wall was all but impossible. For the present, however, the French were far away and the Cherokees, dependent upon the Virginia and South Carolina trade, were the least troublesome of the larger tribes.³⁰

The Creeks were about fifteen hundred warriors at this time. The Lower Creeks (often called the Cowetas), the less numerous portion of the tribe, had their towns on the Chattahoochee River. The Upper Creeks or Coosas lived on the Alabama and its branches. The Creek position was peculiar, for their lands touched those of the three white peoples of the continent and those of three important red nations. They wisely chose to be neutral where the whites were concerned, but played their part with such boldness and success that they appeared as dictators rather than suitors. The French had forts at Mobile and on the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers but were too weak to control the tribe, while the English were at too great a distance. Furthermore the Creeks were rapidly increasing in numbers—doubling in thirty years—and long before the Revolution were spoiling for the great fight that did not come until 1812.³¹

West of the Upper Creeks, in the east central part of the present state of Mississippi, were the Choctaws, about five thousand men. They were not great fighters, and hemmed in as they were by the French on the Mississippi and the Gulf they could not maintain neutrality. But the French were not able fully to supply them with goods, and the Carolina merchants longed for their trade.³²

North of the Choctaws, between the branches of the Mississippi and the Tombigbee, was the small tribe of the Chickasaws. They were the boldest of the southern Indians, surpassing the Catawbias in courage and fighting skill. Their position partly commanded the French line along the Mississippi, and they used it for constant attacks upon passing cargoes and expeditions. The French in turn, with their allies the Choctaws, made such incessant attacks upon the hated Chickasaws as to reduce their fighting men from about six hundred in 1730 to less than half that number twenty-five years later. But in the face of annihilation they held to their beloved ground and to the English alliance. The South Carolinians cherished them for their invaluable service as they did the Catawbias, and the traders loved the "cheerful brave Chikkasah" as they did no other tribe.³³

The alliances and enmities of these ten thousand southwestern warriors

³⁰ Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 130-131; Adair, *American Indians*, p. 227. "WHEREAS, the safety of this Province does, under God, depend on the friendship of the Charokees to this Government" (*Stats.*, III, 39); see also JCHA, Dec. 15, 1736.

³¹ JCHA, Mar. 6, 1734; Adair, *American Indians*, p. 259 (apparently on the authority of Lachlan McGillivray—see p. 279).

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 282-283; JCHA, Mar. 6, 1734.

³³ Adair, *American Indians*, pp. 3, n., 340-341, 352-358, and map; Swanton, *Creek Indians*, pp. 417, 449; JCHA, July 23, 1740; JC, June 18, 1755; Indian Books, III, 196-202.

were a source of infinite perplexity to their English, French and Spanish neighbors. Various factors helped to determine these relations, but all, even the great question of available planting or hunting land, gave place to the overmastering influence of the Indian trade. To the Indians, who had almost completely forgotten how to make hatchets, knives and bows, the trade in arms, ammunition and blankets was a matter of life and death. To the Charleston merchants the deerskins meant nearly a fourth of the total exports of South Carolina, one of the most profitable but most hazardous investments in the province.³⁴

The three hundred men known as Indian traders, the agents of the merchants in getting these skins, were officially divided into two classes.³⁵ The principal trader was often a man of education and standing, attracted to this dangerous business by love of adventure and hope of fortune, or perhaps driven to the woods by threat of imprisonment for debt. These men, whether solvent or not, made their arrangements with the Charleston merchants, hired the many packhorsemen necessary—sometimes employing other responsible traders—and maintained trading stores at Savannah Town, Augusta, the Congarees, or Ninety Six. The term Indian trader, however, was also applied to the hundreds of packhorsemen, whose standing in regard to the white community was nearer that of outcast than exile. Illiterate, irresponsible, often fugitives from justice, and as a class lacking in any sense of decency or morality, they were, more than any others, objects of scorn and wrath to the orderly members of society. Yet their reckless courage on other occasions, their skill and endurance, sometimes won for them well deserved tributes of admiration and gratitude.

The packhorseman was seldom prominent save by reason of his misdeeds, but the principal trader was more than the owner or manager of a large commercial enterprise—he was the ambassador of the provincial government to his particular Indian nation. He regularly corresponded with the governor about the trade, the prevailing sentiment of the Indians, and the schemes of the French. He was constantly charged by the provincial government with diplomatic missions, some of them involving great difficulty and danger. Self-interest and patriotism impelled him to the faithful performance of these tasks, and British imperialism had no more aggressive nor more ardent agent. The trader's life and goods were completely at the mercy of the Indians, and were likely to be forfeit for his own misconduct or any blunder of his government. He was in turn protected by the Indians' fear of losing the trade, by the pressure of the Charleston merchants on the government, and by his own more or less permanent matrimonial connection with some Indian woman. When war came it was the faithfulness of these women and their halfbreed children to

³⁴ See Carroll, *Collections*, II, 237–238, Crane, *Southern Frontier*, p. 330.

³⁵ PR, XVII, 412–421 (below, p. 187, n. 8); Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 124–125. Adair, *American Indians*, pp. 412–415, describes the life of the principal trader among the Indians.

which most of the traders, both employers and packhorsemen, owed their lives.

The Spaniards sometimes complicated relations with the Indians, but the real rivals of the Carolinians were the French. The crown, however, refused to build forts in the Indian country, and the planter-controlled Commons House cared to guard only the immediate entrances to the province at Fort Moore and the Pallachuccolas. It was left therefore to the governor and the council to push English interests in the southwest. In this work they had the assistance of the Charleston merchants and of the daring and astute traders, and above all the aid of the English woolens—better, cheaper and more plentiful than those of the French. The very isolation of the province was an advantage, for it made the Indians dependent upon the Carolina merchants and traders.

An impartial observer of the province in 1729 might have doubted whether the situation held more of promise or threat. For the planters the possibilities of rice production in the abundant swamp lands were offset by the slave problem, while easy financing of their industry was blocked by the relentless opposition of the merchants and the crown to paper money. For the merchant the returns from rice and slaves were constantly threatened by paper money issues and the Indian trade menaced by French interference, or the desire of the Commons to restrict rather than defend it. Nor was it easy to appraise the political situation. The planters controlled the government and their skill and vigor were beyond dispute; but the influence of the merchants on the governor was strong, and they had the ear of the crown. Either party could completely block the government, and such a deadlock had existed since 1727. It was high time for a governor with a real program.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNOR JOHNSON'S TOWNSHIP SCHEME

In the same year that South Carolina passed to the crown Robert Johnson was appointed governor. It would have been hard to improve upon this choice, for, aside from his abilities, Johnson's connections and record were such as to give him prestige and inspire confidence. He was the son of a former governor and had himself held that office from 1717 to 1719. In the warfare with the pirates he had behaved with courage and decision, and in the Revolution of 1719, despite the former ill treatment of him by the Proprietors, he had done his full duty by them. Finally, as a Carolina planter he was acceptable to the dominant group of the province. For years he had been seeking his old office, and now at the age of forty-seven he was ready to add new honors to an already successful career. He sold his estate in England and cast his lot wholly with his people.¹

Governor Johnson's name will always be associated with what he called his "Township scheme" for the settlement of the South Carolina slave problem. There were several sources upon which to draw for such a plan. Both Proprietors and assembly had tried to increase the white population by the occasional or indirect methods of encouragement characteristic of the other colonies. The Proprietors in 1716 had vaguely promised the Yamasee lands to settlers, and the assembly had accordingly passed an act for settling that frontier with Protestants from Great Britain, Ireland, or the American colonies. It offered three hundred acres to each free male of military age, with fees paid, and the promise of exemption for four years from taxes and from the regular purchase price of Proprietary lands. This encouragement was published in Ireland and a number of Protestants came over, but in 1718 the Proprietors repealed the act and the plan collapsed. The acts for establishing settlements about the frontier forts have been mentioned.² The favorite measure of the Proprietary period, however, was forced employment of indentured servants on the plantations, and in 1716, after the Yamasee war, an act was passed requiring planters to keep one male white servant for each ten slaves, and providing aid for importing them. This measure, though soon repealed, was in effect reenacted in

¹ *CSCHS*, I, 250, *SCG*, May 10, 1735.

² *CSCHS*, I, 164, *Stats.*, II, 641-646; PR, XVII, 125-126 (Affidavit of Andrew Hogg, enclosed with Port Royal Petition, Oct. 23, 1734); above, p. 11. For other colonies compare F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), pp. 86-92; S. A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I (Greensboro, 1908), p. 254.

1726. Another law in 1725 directed the planter to maintain a male white servant to each two thousand acres of land. Later records indicate that these measures were irregularly enforced, although there were many white servants in the province.³

Another mode of encouraging settlement which found much favor was the granting of large tracts of land to adventurers who would undertake to import Protestants from Europe to settle upon them. These projects were common after the Revolution of 1719, but could not be put into effect because of failure to agree upon terms.⁴ A plan of this sort for a settlement of poor people from England between the Savannah and the Altamaha finally evolved into the colony of Georgia. Other promoters relied mainly on Switzers and Palatines, whom they hoped to turn from the beaten track to Pennsylvania. In this group was the Swiss land agent, Colonel Jean Pierre Purry, whose proposals antedated Johnson's settlement scheme and had their part in its formation.⁵

Besides the South Carolina experiments and the proposals of the promoters, there were other possible sources for a general settlement policy. Francis Nicholson, governor of South Carolina from 1721 to 1724, was governor of Virginia in 1701 when a frontier settlement plan was conceived which bears a close resemblance to that later adopted for the southern province. The New England town method of settlement was well known, nor were there lacking New Englanders in South Carolina to explain its advantages. In a real sense, however, the forerunner of Johnson's plan was the project of an earlier South Carolina leader, Colonel John Barnwell. In 1720 and 1722, following the Yamasee conflict and the War of the Spanish Succession, he had proposed the establishment of forts on the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers, with townships to be settled about them, for defense against the French, Spaniards and Indians.⁶ But before this plan could be put into effect eight years had passed, eight thousand new negroes had been set down in South Carolina, and it was necessary for a planter governor to revise and elaborate the project to make it fit a newer and now more pressing need.

It was a master stroke that evolved from these inherited materials the plan which made peace between planter and merchant, financed settlement

³ *Stats.*, II, 646-649 (see also VII, 363), III, 14-15, 255-257, 272; VII, 363; see *SCG*, Nov. 8, 1742, Jan. 14, 1764.

⁴ See *CSCHS*, II, 123, 232-233; PR, XIII, 39, XIV, 12-13, 25-27 (Board of Trade Journal, Sept. 10, 1728, June 11, Dec. 3, 1730), 48-53 (Thomas Lowndes to Board, received Mar. 5, 1730). Compare Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 281-294.

⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 251, 294, 303-325; PR, XII, 190 (John Vat to crown, about January 1727), 390 (Thomas Lowndes, Oct. 11, 1729, received Oct. 31, 1729).

⁶ See Turner, *Frontier*, pp. 85-86, and the admirable treatment of the external defense problem and the place of this plan in it in Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 228-234, 282-283.

of townships from the sinking fund, and projected a ring of settlements which were to strengthen the province against internal as well as external dangers. In February 1730, at the instance of Governor Johnson, twenty-one men signing themselves merchants of London laid before the Board of Trade a memorial which, for merchants, exhibited a new and surprising tenderness to problems that were really the planters' own.⁷ The memorial stated that the province was under a heavy debt from the Indian war and from large yearly expenses for frontier defense, and that its exports were a hundred thousand pounds sterling, although its currency was equal to only fifteen thousand. Therefore they requested that the receipts from customs reserved by the existing law for the retirement of the currency be appropriated to furnishing tools and provisions for poor Protestant settlers.

Some of these merchants had plantations in the province, but even with their champions thus compromised the affair was a signal victory for the planters. The memorial was followed by Governor Johnson's "Scheem . . . for Settling Townships", which was given to the Board March 7th and further explained later. The governor proposed that the crown grant ten townships on the frontier of twenty thousand acres each. The settlers in them should have lots in the town and lands in the township. There should be extra lots for churches and schools, and when the population of any township reached a hundred householders, it should send one or two members to the assembly.⁸

In June 1730 the Board completed the one hundred and twenty-four articles of Johnson's instructions, including sections which made a complete land and settlement system as far as the crown could provide it. The twentieth instruction authorized the governor to assent to the suspension of the act of 1724 for retiring the currency, and to the application of the duties for seven years "to the charge of Surveying and laying out Townships, & to the purchasing of Tools, provisions and other necessities for any poor Protestants that shall be desirous to settle in Our Said Province." This was on the condition, however, that the suspending clause be a part of "an effectual Law" for registering grants and regulating quit rents. The forty-second instruction directed the governor to urge the assembly to enact a law for annulling excessive grants of land which remained uncultivated,

⁷ PR, XIV, 32-33 (Representation to Board, received Feb. 4, 1730), XVII, 333-335 (William Wood, received by Board July 3, 1735). July 28, 1729, Governor Burrington of North Carolina befriended his neighbors by stating to the Board his opinion that the expenses of their government had been four times as great as those of any other continental colony, and that they must be allowed to sink their currency by degrees (PR, XIII, 373). See also Johnson's letter of Dec. 19, 1729 to the Board (pp. 421-426).

⁸ PR, XIII, 339-342 (Stephen Godin to Board, July 25, 1729), XIV, 54-60, 71-74, 89-91 (Johnson to Board, received Mar. 7, 18, Apr. 30, 1730). Note error on p. 60 corrected by Wallace, *History of S. C.*, I, 334. Johnson proposed that the funds be devoted to "paying the passage and buying of Provisions and tools for poor protestant people that will go over. . . ." (PR, XIV, 57).

and ordered him to give no more than fifty acres for each person, white or black, in the grantee's household. No grant might have a river front of more than one-fourth its depth.⁹

The preamble to the forty-third instruction recited the proved success of townships in the settlement of New England. Johnson was directed to lay out eleven of them "on the Banks of Rivers at Sixty Miles distance from Charles Town": two each on the Altamaha, Savannah, and Santee, and one each on the Pon Pon, Wateree, Black, Peedee and Waccamaw. Each grantee was to have a lot and for each head in his family was to receive fifty acres in the township. The instruction further reserved the land within six miles of the township for the future use of the inhabitants. The forty-fourth directed that each township be later erected into a parish; when the parish with the six mile reservation had one hundred householders it should send two members to the assembly. The forty-fifth reserved three hundred acres near the town for a common. The forty-sixth, after referring to the need for whites, ordered the governor to "recommend in the Strongest Terms to the Assembly" encouragement for white servants, and offered them, when their terms expired, the full grant of land and ten years' exemption from quit rents. The forty-seventh extended this exemption to the township settlers.

By providing for two townships on the Altamaha, far beyond the present area of Carolina settlement, the crown was extending the frontier into the land claimed by Spain, and toward the French territories. Had this instruction stood, and had the territory not been alienated from South Carolina an interesting process in frontier defense might have been developed. Instead, the two Altamaha townships were taken for a new colony designed to protect the Carolina rice plantations as well as to be an outpost of the British empire. To prevent the recurrence of the South Carolina problems on this new frontier slavery was prohibited by the Georgia Trustees and landholdings were limited to five hundred acres, with provision for descent in the male line. But these peculiar devices kept whites out of the colony almost as effectively as they did negroes, and to maintain the outpost Parliament spent a hundred and thirty thousand pounds in twenty years.¹⁰ It is as interesting as it is idle to reflect on the possible results of extension of settlement to the Altamaha under the South Carolina government; a subsidy of half that amount from Parliament

⁹ PR, XIV, 147-214 (Instructions to Johnson; in 1755 the instruction for granting land was changed to allow 100 acres to the head of the family—XXVI, 315, instructions to Lyttelton). The instructions for encouragement of settlers, and the provincial acts putting them in effect did not preclude giving aid to immigrants from other American colonies, but Johnson had specified Protestants from Europe (XIV, 57), and it is clear that this was likewise the intention of the crown and of the assembly.

¹⁰ Crane, *Southern Frontier*, p. 294, C. C. Jones, Jr., *History of Georgia* (2 vols., Boston, 1883), I, 106-112, Osgood, *Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, III, 46, 54-64.

would have provided for frontier forts and garrisons and larger aid and adequate protection for township settlers. The British government would thus have strengthened its southern frontier by utilizing and directing the economic forces of the time instead of flying in their face.

With the completion of Johnson's instructions the chief work of the imperial government was done, and the program went with the governor to South Carolina to be enacted into law and administered. Johnson arrived in Charleston in December 1730 and called the assembly to meet in January. The provincial debts had remained unpaid for four years, and no taxes except customs duties had been collected since 1727. The back claims were £15,000 and the needs of the current year amounted to about £4,000 more. The latter sum was provided for by a tax on land and negroes; for the former there was available in the treasury nearly £6,000, the accumulation from the duty law.¹¹

To pay the remaining £9,000 without a further tax upon a people who had recently endured a prolonged period of distress, the assembly, in equal disregard of the instructions of the crown and the larger interests of the province, invaded the settlement fund. The instructions to the governor allowed the suspension of the act of 1724 on the condition that the entire fund for retiring the currency be applied to settlement. "The appropriation law", as it came to be known, estimated the annual receipts from the duty act at £1,857, £1,214 of it from negroes imported. The £9,000 of the provincial debt was paid in orders bearing interest at five percent, and for the retirement of these the negro duty was pledged for seven years. The remainder of the customs receipts was appropriated to the laying off of townships, paying the passage of poor Protestants, and buying provisions and tools for them.¹² The other pressing problem of the day, the question of land titles under the Proprietary grants, was attacked in the quit rent law. In this act the assembly, after providing an inadequate system for collection of the rents, boldly legalized these titles provided that some part of the land had been, or should be in two years, surveyed by a sworn surveyor. The clauses of the appropriation bill for suspending the sinking fund act and for the appropriation of duties were tacked on to this bill.¹³

The wisdom of this procedure was doubtful in the extreme. It unduly aided the land speculators and threatened to cripple the settlement fund; it must inevitably offend the Board of Trade, which had advised the concession so needed by the province, and strengthen the position of those

¹¹ JC, Dec. 17, 1730; PR, XIV, 220-222 (Alexander Cuming's Memorial to Newcastle, July 11, 1730), XV, 37 (Johnson to Board, Nov. 14, 1731); *Stats.*, III, 308-317, 334.

¹² *Stats.*, III, 334-341. The duty was 11:8½ on negroes over 10 years of age, and half that amount for children under 10 (*ibid.*, p. 160). Note that according to the preamble only £643 would be available for settlement purposes. The estimate in the quit rent act is £714 (*ibid.*, p. 301).

¹³ *Stats.*, III, 289-304. B. W. Bond, Jr., *Quit Rent System in the American Colonies* (New Haven, 1919), pp. 318-326.

interests, both colonial and British, which were utterly opposed to paper money and to taxes on importations of negroes. However, those holding Proprietary grants were entitled to some consideration; the crown, by imposing the very heavy quit rent of four shillings proclamation money per hundred acres instead of the former one shilling, put strong pressure upon the colony to evade this burden; and a planter assembly was prone to be generous with public land. On the 20th of August Governor Johnson assented to both laws, and they were laid on the knees of the home government.

The Board of Trade recommended the repeal of both the quit rent and appropriation laws, but Peregrine Furrye, the provincial agent, and Francis Yonge, a member of the council who was at that time in London, defended them with skill and address. Yonge advised the approval of the quit rent law lest the assembly pass a worse one. Furrye showed that the Bristol and London slave merchants who were urging repeal of the appropriation law were aiming at repeal of the negro duties rather than application of them to settlement, and at retirement of all of the currency, which would ruin the province. On April 9, 1734, the governor, council and Commons House completed an elaborate representation to the king on the state of the province, which dwelt eloquently on the danger from the French, Spanish and slaves.¹⁴ This was shrewd playing on British imperial fears, for the crown could ill afford to weaken or antagonize its bulwark against French aggression in the southwest. The quit rent law was finally allowed to stand, and in 1735, when the appropriation law had nearly run its course, the Board of Trade proposed a new instruction to Johnson to secure a law assigning the whole negro duty to settlement—a measure already adopted by the assembly a month before.¹⁵

Meanwhile in the province the settlement fund, having run the gauntlet of the legislature, was sustaining with almost equal damage the assaults of colonial officialdom. The first serious difficulty arose over the fees for surveying the townships. The logical one to do this work was Surveyor-General James St. John, appointed by the crown in March 1731.

¹⁴ PR, XV, 239-246 (Treasury Board to Board and Board to crown, Oct. 6, Nov. 1, 1732), XVI, 228, 230 (Board of Trade Journal, Feb. 20, Mar. 22, 1734), 366-386 (Council Committee to Board, July 23, 1734 and enclosures), XVII, 32-77 (William Wood *et al.*, to Board, Sept. 10, 1734), 196-231 (Peregrine Furrye to Board, Dec. 3, 1734), 262-266 (Board of Trade Journal, June 24, July 3, 4, 1735), 286-295 (Francis Yonge to Board, Feb. 18, 1734), 300-301 (Furrye and Yonge to Board, Mar. 8, 1735). Furrye declared that: "such was the Scarcity and necessity of Paper Currency in Carolina that several Merchants there issued no less than 50,000 in Notes depending on their own private Credit bearing an Interest at 10 p Cent . . . which notes they stamped with the Emblems of Liberty charity mercy and Justice and yet they complain against the Publick for makeing and issuing orders on a Fund and bearing" five percent interest (XVII, 212). For the representation see PR, XVI, 388-401 or JCHA, Mar. 6, 1734.

¹⁵ PR, XVII, 266-267 (above, n. 14), 347-349 (Board to Council Committee, July 11, 1735), 372-373 (William Wood to Board, Sept. 3, 1735), 388-389 (Order in Council, Oct. 13, 1735); *Stats.*, III, 409-411.

However, his large though vague designs upon the township fund led him to reject the offer of the governor and council of seventy-one pounds for surveying the lines of each township, even though this would have left intact the fees for each settler's tract as it came to be surveyed. Members of the council were thereupon assigned to the task, and by November 1732 six of the townships had been "laid out", although the failure of some of the councillors to mark the line circumscribing the reserved areas made it easy for outsiders to encroach upon them.¹⁶

But the real enemy of St. John was the Commons, which had so phrased the quit rent law as to make inroads upon his fees. Furthermore, after a committee report that he was collecting the fees twice on the same survey, an act was passed strictly regulating his office. In turn St. John made what trouble he could for his accusers, and in this he was aided by one with far more brains than he—Benjamin Whitaker, later chief justice, conspicuous for his legal attainments and capacity for public service. Recently ousted from the office of attorney-general, he just now filled no higher post than that of deputy surveyor-general, and for his partisan attacks in some measure deserved Johnson's sour characterization of him as "the Craftsman amongst us". In separate letters to the officials of the home government and in representations to Johnson himself St. John and Whitaker charged the governor and the assembly with being the principals in a huge land grab.¹⁷ They declared the governor had interpreted his instructions to grant no more than fifty acres per head as allowing him to give the planters fifty acres for every slave they had, regardless of the amount of land they already held.¹⁸ The quit rent act had added to estates already too large for the owners to cultivate.

Governor Johnson hotly refuted the charges made against him, and another investigation resulted in imprisonment by the House of some of St. John's deputies for making surveys in violation of the quit rent act, and in his own arrest for insulting remarks about the Commons. After various petitions and court hearings all were released save the arch-offender, St. John. His complaints reached the Board of Trade which severely criticised the House and instructed Johnson to do what he could to secure the surveyor-general's release. But St. John after being under arrest for three months had petitioned the Commons for his freedom and had been granted it, with a reprimand and a warning that "this House expects that you'll offer to them no such future indignity." He held his office for ten years

¹⁶ PR, XV, 198–202 (Memorial of St. John, received by Board Sept. 6, 1732, and enclosures); JC, Nov. 18, 19, 1731, Mar. 10, Nov. 9, 1732.

¹⁷ JCHA, Jan. 26, 1732; *Stats.*, III, 343–347; PR, XV, 163–165 (Observations of St. John, to Board, received Sept. 6, 1732), 219–222 (Benjamin Whitaker to Johnson, Sept. 21, 1732), 264 (Johnson to Newcastle, Dec. 15, 1732), JC, Nov. 10, 1732. For the later status of the surveying fees see JCHA, Apr. 7, 1759.

¹⁸ St. John's successor in 1743 repeated this charge; he also declared that St. John's fees at the time were a thousand pounds a year (PR, XXI, 174—George Hunter to the Board, Oct. 31, 1743).

more, but appears to have offered the strong-willed Commons neither indignity nor opposition.¹⁹

These charges and counter-charges were incidents in a spectacular increase in the holdings of land and slaves in the South Carolina tidewater. By 1738 a million acres had been put on the tax books. From 1729 to 1732 there were imported 5,153 slaves, and in the next four years 10,447 more. "Negroes may be said to be the Bait proper for catching a Carolina Planter, as certain as Beef to catch a Shark," noted a native critic on observing the ominous figures which marked the undoing of the white settlement plan almost before it could get under way. Judged by standards of eighteenth century economy this expansion of slave and land holdings was in part a normal increase in a young and vigorous commonwealth—witness Lieutenant-Governor Bull's statement in 1738 that the colony sent annually to Great Britain products amounting to near £150,000, employing over two hundred vessels. It was in part, however, a speculation which far overestimated the immediate possibilities of the rice industry.²⁰

St. John and Whitaker declared Johnson had by September 1732 issued warrants for 600,000 acres of land; on warrants apparently issued before that time there were surveyed in 1731 and 1732 about 300,000 acres, a fifth of the amount in tracts larger than 2,000 acres.²¹ The slave importation since the acquisition of the province by the crown would have provided headrights for four-fifths of the amount of the surveys. If the headrights of these slaves and of the considerable number of white immigrants to the coast country were used in 1731 and 1732, the land taken up under Proprietary and other irregular warrants or surveys was no great proportion of the total acquired during the 'thirties. Most of the surveys were in tracts which made ordinary plantation units, or convenient additions to existing plantations. Whatever the method used for distributing this tidewater land the result must have been the same for the province as a whole. There was scant room in the industry or climate of the tidewater area for small farmers.

Governor Johnson's death in May 1735 brought to a sudden end the most popular and most successful of the royal administrations. His was the chief part in making and maintaining that peace between crown and assembly, between merchant and planter, which restored the government to efficiency and, in some measure, the province to prosperity. The town-

¹⁹ PR, XV, 267-268 (Johnson to Hutcheson, Dec. 21, 1732), XVII, 185-189 (from Johnson's letter—pp. 174-193—to Board, Nov. 9, 1734), XVI, 146 (Board to Johnson, June 7, 1733), 202-212 (Council Committee to Board, Dec. 6, 1733), XXI, 153 (William Bull to Newcastle, May 6, 1743); JC, Apr. 28, 1733; JCHA, Feb. 3, 9, 10, May 9, 10, June 7, 1733. See Bond, *Quit Rent System*, pp. 322-326, Wallace, *History of S. C.*, I, 325-329; Smith, *S. C. as a Royal Province*, pp. 34-48, for different interpretations of this controversy.

²⁰ SCG, Apr. 2, 1737, Mar. 9, 1738; PR, XIX, 119 (Bull to Board, May 25, 1738), XXIV, 314 (Governor James Glen, received by Board Aug. 10, 1751).

²¹ PR, XV, 219-222 (above, n. 17); see also vols. I and II of *Plats*.

ship scheme, a vital part of the process of white settlement that was to transform South Carolina, he had originated and started fairly on its way. Himself one of the planters, he had, from appreciation of their needs and problems or from political necessity, acted as their friend rather than as champion of the merchant and the crown. Very well might the assembly, representing the grieving province, appropriate a hundred and eleven pounds for a tablet to him in St. Philip's Church "as a mark of peculiar esteem and gratitude".²²

During Johnson's administration there was little to mar relations between the executive and the Commons. Early in 1735, however, the settlement fund faced a deficit, and as the Commons moved to tardy repair of the damage it had done in 1731 by diversion of the negro duty to pay off the provincial debt, the situation was complicated by the demands of the attorney-general and the secretary for their fees on the lands granted to the settlers. The House now appropriated the whole negro duty to settlement, but considering the fees excessive so worded the act as to restrict their payment to the proceeds of other duties; a tax was laid to retire the remaining bills of 1731. In the course of an intermittent contest of four years the executive made good its claim to authority to order payments—including those for officers' fees—out of any part of the settlement fund, while the House made the further concession of sending all its orders to the executive for concurrence.²³

The proportion of the fee charges to the total is indicated by a committee report covering the period from May 1745 to January 1750. During this time 579 new settlers got £1,632 in bounties of tools and provisions, and £551 in indirect aids—payments for defense, salaries to ministers, and the like. The public officers received £778 in fees and commissions, the most deserving of them, the deputy surveyors who surveyed the lands, getting less than a fifth of the amount.²⁴

The ten townships founded under Governor Johnson's program between 1733 and 1759 went through three stages of development: an initial period of rapid settlement under the active encouragement of the provincial government, ten years of slow growth during which the government continued its policy of liberal aids, and finally a decade of renewed expansion as immigrants from Europe and the north came in larger numbers than at any time before.

Throughout the second of these periods the settlement policy of the province was undergoing a slow and painful transformation. In March

²² *Stats.*, III, 448, *Year Book, Charleston*, 1880, p. 270.

²³ JUHA, Feb. 13, Mar. 26, Apr. 25, 1735, Oct. 8, 1737; JCHA, Feb. 15, Mar. 6, 1735, Dec. 3, 1736, Jan. 11, Feb. 1, 10, Mar. 4, 1737, Feb. 4, Mar. 6, 11, 23, 1738; JC, Aug. 19, 1735, Dec. 14, 1738, Feb. 9, 1739; *Stats.*, III, 409-411, 414-423; PR, XIX, 259 (John Hammerton, received by Board Aug. 19, 1738).

²⁴ JCHA, Jan. 31, 1750. For the fees see *Stats.*, II, 144-148, III, 343-347, 415-421. See also JC, May 14, 1752, JCHA, Apr. 7, 1759, May 8, 9, 1760.

1737 Lieutenant-Governor Broughton announced in the *South Carolina Gazette* that the settlement fund was insufficient for the demands upon it, and that the act creating it would soon expire. He therefore warned future comers not to expect the bounty. The chief sin of the provincial government against the township program was thus visited upon the province. The non-resident grants in Purrysburg and Williamsburg did not prevent those townships serving their purpose, but for lack of a thousand pounds of the money diverted to the sinking of the 1731 orders the movement of the poor Protestants from Europe had to be momentarily discouraged. Immigration from Europe fell off sharply, and though money for the bounty again became available, few Germans and no Scotch-Irish came until after 1748. There were several reasons for this decline besides Broughton's proclamation. A reaction after the high hopes for ventures like that of Purry was inevitable. The quarrels of the settlers at Purrysburg and Williamsburg with the colonial government must likewise have been bad advertising for the province, while the sickness that Purrysburg and New Windsor suffered was warning of the trial which the immigrant from a cooler climate to the low country must expect. Finally the renewal of hostilities in Europe—England's wars first with Spain and then with France—made the sea unsafe for immigrant ships.²⁵

The settlement of Georgia intensified the feud between the English and Spanish on the southern frontier. In 1738 the governor at St. Augustine published the order of the Spanish crown that all slaves coming from the English colonies should be freed and protected. Parties of slaves fled from South Carolina, one body of twenty-four escaping from Port Royal. They were received at St. Augustine and employed for wages. In September 1739 about fifty negroes rose at Stono, twenty miles below Charleston, armed themselves from a store, killed twenty-one whites, and began their march southward. Their leisurely progress enabled the militia to overtake them and nearly all were killed or executed. There was smallpox and an "Epidemical Fever" to plague the province in 1738 and 1739, and a destructive fire in Charleston in 1740.²⁶

In October 1739 war between England and Spain was declared which in 1744 widened into the War of the Austrian Succession. Already in 1742 the assembly had petitioned the crown for three companies of troops of a hundred men each, which were needed to garrison two forts on the coast and two on the frontier. The petition was granted, but the first of the troops did not arrive until January 1746 and a later report of a Com-

²⁵ PR, XIX, 54 (Sebastian Zouberbuhler to Board, Mar. 14, 1738); see below, pp. 36, 67, 81-82; JC, Jan. 26, 1743, Mar. 25, 1745.

²⁶ *CSCHS*, IV, 17-18; JUHA, Jan. 18, 1739; JCHA, Jan. 18, 19, 1739; PR, XX, 179-183, 192 (Bull to Board, Oct. 5, Nov. 20, 1739), 326-330 (Petition of South Carolina council and House to king, Nov. 21, 1740). Two other slave plots were discovered shortly afterwards (PR, XX, 300-301—Representation, enclosed with letter of Bull July 28, 1740).

mons committee declared that most of them were raised in the province and therefore made "no augmentation of men or strength". The rice industry, depressed by the low price which had resulted from overproduction, was burdened anew by high freights and insurance.²⁷ The climax of this series of misfortunes, however, was the Stono insurrection. The report of a committee of the Commons House in 1741 expressed the feeling of the planters who had so energetically conferred on the savage Africans and themselves the dubious blessings of American negro slavery: "With Regret we bewailed our peculiar case that we could not Enjoy the Benefits of peace like the Rest of mankind, and that our Industry Should be the means of taking from us all the Sweets of life and of Rendering us Liable to the Loss of our Lives and Fortunes."²⁸

The regular session of the assembly began soon after the insurrection and with it an eager effort to abate the negro problem. The danger was too pressing to allow dependence on the now small bounty immigration alone; furthermore most of the townships were at a considerable distance from the districts of heaviest slave population. The committee on methods of defense therefore felt it necessary to resort to the unpopular plan of forcing the planters to employ white servants on their plantations; for "by the late unhappy accident at Stono it appears to be absolutely necessary to get a Sufficient number of white Persons into this Province". Its proposed bill to increase the number of white men required on plantations by the law of 1726 was rejected by the council,²⁹ but the two houses were a unit on the restriction of slave importation. The general duty law of 1731 was now, in April 1740, reenacted with few changes save in the rate on slaves which was set at a little more than fourteen pounds for those four feet two inches or more in height. This duty which was to go into effect in fifteen months and to last three years was so high that it constituted a prohibition. Before and after the three year period the duty was to be one

²⁷ PR, XX, 577-579 (Petition of assembly to crown, June 3, 1742), 598-611 (Representation of lieutenant-governor and council, Sept. 3, 1742); JCHA, June 2, 1742, Jan. 23, 1746, Feb. 10, 11, 1747. On the suggestion of the crown, when these companies were discharged in the summer of 1749, the governor and council offered the men land with fees paid from the township fund, and for those who had enlisted outside the province half the regular bounty (JC, June 16, July 4, Aug. 2, 1749). A score of South Carolinians and about thirty outsiders took advantage of this offer, two-thirds of the warrants being for land in the middle country. The export of rice in 1740 was about 90,000 barrels, and the average 1740-1745 about 100,000 (Carroll, *Collections*, I, 343, PR, XXI, 403—below, n. 33); see also *SCG*, Oct. 8, 1744 (letter of Agricola), PR, XXII, 115-123 (Furye and John Fenwicke to Board, Nov. 21, 1745), 273-275 (Glen to Board, Apr. 28, 1747).

²⁸ *CSCHS*, II, 19. Compare Lieutenant-Governor Broughton's statement in 1737: "our Negroes are very numerous and more dreadful to our Safety, than any Spanish Invaders" (PR, XVIII, 172-173—to Newcastle, Feb. 6, 1737).

²⁹ JCHA, Nov. 10, 1739. Henry McCulloh, the speculator in North Carolina lands (*Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 779-780, VII, 13-14), declared that its failure was due to the landholdings of the council (PR, XX, 424-425—enclosure by McCulloh with letter to Board, Nov. 12, 1741; Bond, *Quit Rent System*, pp. 396-397).

tenth of that amount.³⁰ This act, evidently in view of the small immigration, gave only two-thirds of the negro duty to township settlement, but made generous allowances—transportation from Charleston, tools, provisions for a year, and a cow and a calf for each five settlers. The act was continued in 1746 for five years more, but until the end of the war in 1748 there was no great income of either money or settlers.³¹

The weakness of the tidewater plantations caused the Commons for several years to seek some means of strengthening them. An act of 1742 offered exemption from jury duty and all provincial taxes exceeding twenty-nine shillings to all free white Protestant men residing in towns or villages situated at the passes or ferries over rivers. The measure was continued in 1752 for six years, but then lapsed with no perceptible results. In 1743 a House committee renewed the proposal to increase the required number of servants on plantations, and recommended that training of negroes for trades in which white men were usually employed be forbidden. Nothing came of this nor of a more elaborate plan the next year for the purchase of twenty-acre tracts between the Santee and Savannah not more than thirty miles from the sea nor twenty from a parish church. On these tracts a hundred white families a year should be settled, with much smaller bounties than those allowed to township settlers, and forbidden to sell their lands. The probable expense alone—about fourteen hundred pounds a year which would have to be met in part by direct taxes—made this scheme impracticable.³²

The bounties on agricultural products offered during this decade were

³⁰ *Stats.*, III, 556–568; half and one-fourth the full duties were charged on the smaller negroes—see PR, XXIII, 369–370 (from Glen's Answers, enclosed with his letter to Board, July 19, 1749). The act of 1731 (*Stats.*, III, 340–341) by its own wording should have expired automatically June 7, 1739; no continuing act has been found. The bounty act expired in August 1738 (see p. 26, above); it was evidently continued, however (*Stats.*, III, 562); the duties on slaves and other imports were collected without any break (Treasurer's Ledgers, MS, 1735–1748).

³¹ *Stats.*, III, 670. This encouragement as administered by the governor and council in 1743 came to the following: for immigrants over 12 years of age, 300 lbs. of beef, 50 of pork, 200 of rice, 8 bushels of corn, 1 bushel of salt; to all under 12, half these quantities; to each man an axe, broad hoe, and narrow hoe; to every five persons, 1 cow and calf, 1 sow; to each servant, at the end of his term, the same bounty (JC, Apr. 2, 1743). The assembly was no longer bound by any instruction in its disposition of income from duties, as the crown considered that the condition imposed when the sinking fund of 1724 was suspended had been satisfied by the legislation of 1731 and 1735 (PR, XIX, 224—Board to crown, July 13, 1738).

³² *Stats.*, III, 591, 775; Letter . . . to a Member of Assembly, SCG, Mar. 28, 1743; JCHA, Mar. 23, 30, Apr. 1, 1743, Jan. 25, Mar. 1, 6, 1744. Compare the restrictions imposed on the Georgia settlers—above, p. 20. An act to allow holders of uncultivated lands to surrender them, and thus to be relieved of quit rents—an aftermath of the failure of the speculation of the 'thirties—was vetoed by the crown. The total amount of land on the provincial treasurer's books, however, declined from 2,349,129 acres in 1742 to 2,057,457 in 1748. See *Stats.*, III, 636, PR, XXI, 346–347 (Benjamin Whitaker, Observations, enclosed with his letter to Board, June 25, 1744), XXIV, 314 (Glen to Board, received Aug. 10, 1751), Bond, *Quit Rent System*, pp. 334–341.

to aid the recovery of the depressed plantation system as well as to encourage small farmers. In 1741 the assembly renewed the bounty on hemp and silk given in 1736. Three years later it increased both, and added bounties on wine, flax, indigo, cotton, and flour sold in Charleston made from wheat raised in the province. "A pretty large quantity of Indigo" was made in this year, and the production rose so rapidly that the assembly in 1746 hastily repealed the bounty on the new staple.³³

The return of peace in 1748 brought better times for the province, and with it more slaves and a renewal of the bounty immigration. The speedy exhaustion of the township fund brought about a careful reconsideration of settlement policy. Again the House played with the idea of land purchase and settlement in the parishes, and for the first time showed opposition to Germans as settlers by ordering the agent of the province in England to do his utmost to prevent the immigration of more than a thousand foreign Protestants a year. The act of 1751 appropriated three-fifths of the negro duties to settling foreign Protestants, or Protestants from the British dominions who should present certificates of good character from ministers or corporations. For five years the bounty was to be paid only to those settling between the Santee and the Savannah, within forty miles of the coast. For the first three of the five years four pounds ten shillings should be paid to all from thirteen to forty-nine years of age, and half that amount to those from three to twelve. For the next two years of the term these amounts were to be reduced by a third, and at the end of that time two-thirds of the remainder should be paid to those settling anywhere in the province. The act was to run for ten years. A renewed contest between House and council over the fees, which the Commons thought excessive, resulted in assignment by the act of a fifth of the negro duties to that purpose.³⁴

In October 1752 the prospect of the arrival of fifteen hundred Germans caused a hasty revision of the law. The governor asked the Commons to omit the restriction of settlers to the limits stated, on the ground that there was not enough land for them. This was promptly done, but, evidently appalled by the number of aliens coming into the province, the House took steps to divert the entire three-fifths of the duties, after the incoming horde should have been settled, to settlers from Great Britain and Ireland. However, on the protest of the council against this frank attempt

³³ *Stats.*, III, 587, 613-616, 671; PR, XXI, 403-404, XXII, 100 (Governor James Glen to Board, Sept. 22, 1744, May 28, 1745).

³⁴ JCHA, Nov. 23, 1749, Jan. 30, 31, Feb. 7, Mar. 16, 17, 1750, June 6, 7, 12, 14, 1751; *Stats.*, III, 739-751. The remaining fifth of the duty was appropriated as a bounty for ship building. It was later diverted to other uses (*Stats.*, IV, 10-12). No attempt was made by the governor and council to draw fees from the three-fifths appropriated for the settlers (JC, Apr. 4, 1757, May 30, 1758). See letter of "D.C." (SCG, Dec. 4, 1749) reporting discussion of settlement measures by a Charleston club, and SCG, Nov. 7, 1754 (letter to Timothy) for evidence of interest in settlement measures.

to draw population from the mother country, the Commons adopted a less drastic change. The act of October 1752 prescribed no place of settlement; the bounty was to be paid in tools and provisions, and a reduction of one-sixth was offset by provision for a cow and calf for each five persons. This rate was to continue only four months, and thereafter half the amount was to be paid.³⁵

The settlement fund for its first five years amounted to about £3,500. From that time to 1741, when the importation of slaves became negligible, the receipts from negro duties totalled about £17,000. Only about £2,200 was received by the township fund during the next decade, but between 1752 and 1759 nearly £18,000 was realized from the four-fifths of the negro duty, and by the end of 1765 £18,500 more, a total of £60,000.³⁶ The aid to settlement thus given had no counterpart in any other English continental colony.

In the tangled history of these years of encouragement to settlers, with the ups and downs that came from indifference, selfishness and short-sightedness of officials and representatives, one discerns that neither war nor pestilence, prosperity nor hard times, long blinded the provincial leaders to the fact that the essential problem of South Carolina was the negro problem, and that the only available remedy was white settlement.

³⁵ Below, p. 151; JCHA, Sept. 27, 28, Oct. 5, 1752; JUHA, Oct. 5, 1752; *Stats.*, III, 781-782; PR, XXV, 107-108 (Glen to Board, Dec. 16, 1752).

³⁶ Treasury Ledger B, 1735-1773; JCHA, May 23, 1747, May 10, 1748, Jan. 31, 1750, June 4, 1760, June 16, 1761; below pp. 243-244. The exemptions from quit rents and provincial taxes, generally for ten years, in effect increased the township fund by several thousand pounds—see *Stats.*, III, 439, 473, 527-528, IV, 54, 129, 190; JCHA, Nov. 23, 1750.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE
COUNTRY—THE WESTERN TOWNSHIPS

MAP 2

THE WESTERN TOWNSHIPS

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE COUNTRY—THE WESTERN TOWNSHIPS

The townships marked off under Governor Johnson's scheme roughly embraced the middle country, the wide region that stretched from the tidewater to the fall line. It was the portion of the colony least desired by eighteenth century settlers, having neither the advantages of position enjoyed by the tidewater, nor the more healthful climate of the piedmont. Into this region colonial policy now directed the newcomers whom it coaxed from Europe, and thereby established settlements which in turn offered attractions to settlers from the coast and from the more northern colonies. As these small and uncertain streams of population converged at one point or another in the middle country, communities were founded which partook in their nature of the characteristics of the others spread along the southern pineland, but because of varying racial mixtures, and circumstances of settlement or early development, each was stamped with some difference from its neighbors which two centuries have not obliterated.

In November 1732 a party of Switzers landed in Charleston, and at nearly the same time there arrived a number of Scots from northern Ireland. As soon as practicable both were sent to their appointed task of guarding the tidewater and settling the coastal plain behind it. The Switzers were sent to the frontier southwest of the Santee, doubtless because it was thought that they, as aliens to the tongue of their neighbors, would cling to each other and make a more compact settlement. The Scots were sent, perhaps by their own choice, to the thinly settled but less exposed district north of the Santee. The provincial government continued to direct the foreigners to the west and northwest, while the north side of the Santee attracted other Scots for fifteen years, and proved most convenient for British settlers who came from the northern colonies. Thus there was brought about from the beginning a distinct difference in blood of the eastern and western portions of the middle country.

CHAPTER III

PURRYSBURG

In 1724 the Proprietors, with the approval of the crown, had agreed with Jean Pierre Purry of Neufchatel, Switzerland, to transport six hundred persons to South Carolina and to grant him twenty-four thousand acres of land. The Proprietors were unable to do their part, and the project collapsed, although twenty-four Swiss were said to have gone to the province. In 1730 Purry applied to the crown and offered to procure six hundred Switzers within six years for settlement in South Carolina; in return he asked twelve thousand acres for himself free of quit rents. He evidently expected to make his expenses and profit by sale of this land. Governor Johnson and the Board of Trade recommended that his petition be granted on condition that the Swiss settle in a township. The crown, however, ordered that he have forty-eight thousand acres on completion of his enterprise, with a quit rent exemption of only ten years.¹

Without waiting for final confirmation by the crown, Purry proceeded to South Carolina. In Charleston he laid before the assembly the plans he had made for his settlers, who were to raise hemp, silk, indigo, cotton and wines. The assembly agreed that when he imported one hundred able-bodied men he should receive four hundred pounds from the township fund. His settlers up to the number of three hundred should be fed for a year, each person over twelve years of age receiving eight bushels of Indian corn or pease, three hundred pounds of beef, fifty pounds of pork, two hundred pounds of rice, and a bushel of salt. For those under twelve half these amounts were allowed. Each man was to have an axe, a broad hoe and a narrow hoe, and for each five persons there would be furnished a cow and a calf and a sow. Purry selected as the site of his town "the great Yamasee Bluff", about eight miles below the Pallachuccola garrison; this met the desire of Governor Johnson for a post which would guard the lower Savannah River pass. From his findings and his own lively imagination he then constructed a pamphlet which was a glowing description of the riches and possibilities of Carolina with no hint of the hardships which beset the road to wealth.²

¹ PR, XII, 190-192 (above, p. 18, n. 5), XIV, 3-5, 25 (Board of Trade Journal, Mar. 13, 25, Oct. 15, 1730), 77-78 (Purry to Board, Mar. 24, 1730), 237 (Johnson to Board, July 20, 1730), 243-245, XV, 113-121, 123-126 (Board to crown, July 23, 1730, to Council Committee, May 26, June 26, 1732).

² JCHA, Mar. 5, 17, 1731; PR, XIV, 237-238 (see n. 1 above), XVI, 350 (Purry, received by Board July 16, 1734); Carroll, *Collections*, II, 121-140. See A. B. Faust and G. M. Brumbaugh, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants to the American Colonies*

In November 1732 sixty-one Switzers arrived, the advance guard of Purry's group. They were put in charge of James Richard of Geneva, one of the associates of Purry who had accompanied him to South Carolina the year before. Richard was made justice of the peace and major of the militia. Orders were issued to deliver him six small cannon, twenty muskets, three hundred pounds of powder, three hundred pounds of bullets and three hundred pounds of swan shot. The settlers were also furnished with six crosscut saws, six whipsaws, twelve handsaws, hammers, nails, spades and two iron corn mills. Actual settlement of the town may have awaited the arrival of Purry himself six weeks later. He brought with him ninety-one Swiss and shortly afterwards proceeded with a party of eighty-seven to the Pallachuccolas. The trip was made in three pettyaugers, or periaguas, as the long narrow boats were called that plied the inland passage to the Savannah. By the end of the year 1733 there were two hundred and seventy, perhaps three hundred people in Purrysburg. Purry returned to Europe and in November 1734 arrived with two hundred and eighty more. By this time he had received half of his four hundred pounds.³

During 1735 four hundred and fifty Swiss were reported as arriving at Purrysburg or shortly expected there, the passage of apparently all being paid by the crown. It is quite probable that there was duplication in these statements, or that some settlers went to other South Carolina townships or even to Georgia. In March of that year, however, the assembly was satisfied that the border was sufficiently defended and abolished the Pallachuccola garrison.⁴

Surveys in the township for the Purrysburgers began soon after their arrival, but their grants were not made out until 1735. By 1739 thirty-five thousand acres was granted, and in the next six years this was increased by a seventh of that amount.⁵ By the land regulations this represented about eight hundred persons settled in the township. Grants were based, however, on the warrants which were made out soon after the arrival of the settlers, and were not affected by the death or removal of persons in the grantee's family. The number in the township at any one time must have been far short of eight hundred. Two-thirds of the land thus granted was to persons of French name, and about one-fourth of it to Germans. The remainder was taken up by Englishmen, who probably qualified for the grants by settling in the township. Among the foreigners were forty

in the Eighteenth Century (vol. II, Washington, 1925), pp. 17-26, and "Documents in Swiss Archives relating to Emigration . . ." (*American Historical Review*, October, 1916).

³ JC, Nov. 9, 1732; H. A. M. Smith, "Purrysburgh", in *SCHGM*, X, 193 (this article, covering pp. 187-219, is cited below as Smith, "Purrysburgh"); *SCG*, Dec. 30, 1732; JCHA, Dec. 15, 1732, Dec. 6, 1733; PR, XVII, 191-192 (above, p. 24, n. 19), 227 (Furye to Board, Dec. 3, 1734).

⁴ JUHA, Apr. 17, 1735, *SCG*, Nov. 22, 1735, JCHA, Mar. 21, 1735.

⁵ P, III, 307, 330, Smith, "Purrysburgh", pp. 211-217 (eleven of the names listed pp. 217-218 are clearly different renderings of names on the preceding list).

Protestants from Piedmont, twenty-five from the Archbishopric of Salzburg, and a few individuals from other places.⁶ With these exceptions the Purrysburgers are all spoken of as Swiss.

The twenty thousand acres of the township were laid out before the end of 1733, but by the negligence of the governor and council the six-mile reservation was not surveyed until 1735. It was found then that the delay had enabled outsiders, among them Governor Johnson himself, to take up over thirty thousand of the one hundred and nine thousand acres. In compensation for these encroachments the council ordered double the quantity so taken to be reserved north of the township. Purry himself during the years 1732 to 1736 received grants of nearly twenty thousand of his forty-eight thousand acres, all within the reserved land of the township. He died shortly afterwards, and though the governor and council approved the petition of his son Charles for the rest of the land, he does not appear to have taken it up.⁷

When the mountain-bred Switzers first saw their new home the face of the land, even more than the cannon entrusted to them, must have shown them that it was selected for the military needs of South Carolina and not for their own comfort. The settlement itself was on a bluff, but the township was made up of the mixture of good land, pine barren and swamp characteristic of the lower pine belt. Any other site for a large settlement on a river near the tidewater must have had the same disadvantages. The province was paying three thousand pounds for the defense of the Pallachuco pass, and the fever, heat and loss of life which the settlement suffered was the price it paid for that extraordinary bounty. Nevertheless the government imposed a needless hardship upon the first settlers by forcing them to cast lots for their lands, and by allowing encroachments upon the township. In 1751 twenty-five of the inhabitants declared that their lots had fallen on worthless land which they had been obliged to forsake. The town itself was the first to suffer, as most of the settlers adapted themselves to the needs of the region and dispersed through the township, or, in complete dissatisfaction, went to other places. Nevertheless, the position on the Savannah favored trade; the Switzers were a foreign element and tended to stay together, and they evinced real determination to build up a settlement of traders and artisans.⁸

The most interesting of their attempts was to carry out one of Purry's

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 201, *SCG*, July 21, 1733. Persecution by the Archbishop of Salzburg caused many of his Protestant subjects to migrate (*SCG*, Mar. 11, Apr. 22, 1732). They founded Ebenezer in Georgia opposite Purrysburg (Jones, *History of Ga.*, I, 167-169). For individuals, note Holzendorf and de Beaufain (below, pp. 38, 39). John Linder was from Berlin (G. P. Voigt, *German and German-Swiss Element in South Carolina, 1732-1752*—Columbia 1922—p. 22).

⁷ Smith, "Purrysburgh", pp. 205, 218-219; *JC*, May 11, 1739; *PR*, XVII, 185-189 (above, p. 24, n. 19), XIX, 173-175 (Petition of Charles Purry, May 18, 1738).

⁸ *PR*, XVII, 227 (see n. 3 above); Carroll, *Collections*, I, 296, *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, IV, 159-162; *JC*, Apr. 19, May 14, 1751; Voigt, *German Element*, p. 23; see also *PR*, XIX, 174-175 (above, n. 7).

first proposals—the establishment of the silk industry. John Lewis Poyas was a native of Piedmont and arrived in Purrysburg in 1734. He and his wife, so he stated later, understood “perfectly the manufacture of Silk in all its Process from the very planting of the White Mulberry to the spinning of the Superfine Organzine Raw Silk after the manner used in Turin and Italy.” “The Gentlemen who had first engaged him to teach the Silken manufacture in that Colony” must have been the Purrysburg leaders. In 1733 the Georgia Trustees offered to buy both South Carolina and Georgia silk cocoons, and in 1736 the South Carolina assembly likewise gave a bounty. The next year Poyas appeared before the lieutenant-governor and council with “Several Samples of Silk by him made”. He declared that he had no aid nor support from his “Gentlemen”, and proposed that the provincial government employ him. The Commons House voted him a gratuity of fourteen pounds and agreed to pay him a hundred pounds a year for three years to manage a plantation with six slaves, while training ten apprentices a year.⁹ But four years later the House declared Poyas responsible for the lack of results, discharged him and retired from the silk business. In 1744 a larger bounty was offered, but it lapsed in 1749.¹⁰

Meanwhile the Georgia government continued to buy cocoons, and in 1751 set up a filature in Savannah for winding silk. Most of this came from the German settlement of Ebenezer, Georgia, but Purrysburg silk balls were bought likewise, and in 1766 the township furnished 6,000 pounds of cocoons, making about 300 pounds of raw silk, nearly a third of the total. At that time it was reported that “almost every family in Purrysburg parish” had quantities of silk worms. After this the industry in Georgia declined and was abandoned, Governor Wright explaining that the labor could be far more profitably employed elsewhere, even though the cocoons were bought for more than the market price. With the help of the bounty offered by Parliament, however, the Purrysburgers persevered, and in 1772 exported through Charleston 455 pounds of “exceeding fine Raw Silk”. Probably all the 592 pounds exported the preceding year came from that township.¹¹

⁹ Georgia Trustees, *SCG*, May 19, 1733; *Stats.*, III, 436–437; *JC*, July 13, 1737; *JCHA*, Oct. 6, 8, Dec. 9, 1737, Jan. 19, 24, Feb. 3, 1738. In December 1737 Hercules Coyte, acting as a surveyor of hemp, flax, and silk under the act of 1736, certified fourteen pounds “of good Silk well drawn & fit for any Market” made by Peter Paget of St. Thomas’ Parish, near Charleston (*JCHA*, Dec. 15, 1737). Dec. 11, 1736 Coyte advertised mulberry trees for sale in any number up to two hundred thousand (*SCG*).

¹⁰ *JCHA*, Mar. 1, 1739, Mar. 29, 1740, Jan. 30, Feb. 24, 1741; *Stats.*, III, 613–616. See also *JCHA*, Dec. 17, 1743, Jan. 27, 1744. Apr. 10, 1742 (*SCG*) Poyas offered to buy silk balls. In 1739 the commissioners under whom Poyas worked advertised for ten apprentices, offering to take children from the townships at the expense of the public (*SCG*, Feb. 22, 1739).

¹¹ Jones, *History of Ga.*, I, 373, 433, II, 75–78; *SCG*, July 7, 1766, Mar. 14, 1771; *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* (cited as *SCGCJ*), Jan. 14, 1772.

Despite the competition of the more favorably situated towns of Savannah and Beaufort there are references to four stores in Purrysburg between 1735 and 1752; certainly not all—perhaps no two of them—were operated at the same time.¹² Charles Purry and Samuel Montaigut maintained their store until 1739, when Purry transferred his business to Beaufort; he was murdered there in 1754 by his own slaves. A tanyard and bark mill and a shoemaker appear in the Purrysburg advertisements, and in 1741 David Kinder, Henry Bourquin and Jacob Truan from Purrysburg gave notice in the *Gazette* that they would undertake any sort of carpenter's or joiner's work "on very reasonable Terms, *that is to say*, their Employers shall have one Half of their Work done for Nothing".¹³

From the beginning, however, agriculture was the chief pursuit of the Purrysburgers and it finally became their sole interest. A flood from the river in 1741 caused a partial listing of products: "the pumpkins, beans, turnips, rice, etc., are ruined by the high water. . . ; and because the bears have beaten down much grain, it will be ruined in the water." The next year a tract of three hundred and fifty acres in the township was advertised, which was made up of good corn and rice land, with cattle, one slave, and a dwelling house. Gradually the settlement changed from a frontier town of white laborers, free and indentured, to a South Carolina parish dominated by slave labor. Plats surveyed for settlers in the first ten years were small, averaging about one hundred and fifty acres each, but a beginning of the plantation system was provided in several large grants. Daniel Vernezobre, a London merchant, received two thousand acres and sent negroes as well as white people to the township. The absence of other references to negroes in the first few years indicates that as a rule the larger grants—though these were modest enough—were based on indentures, and that their owners were "the so-called lords" of the Swiss servants. Samuel Montaigut received grants amounting to eighteen hundred acres, James Richard seven hundred, Doctor Brabant five hundred, and John Frederick Holzendorf four hundred and fifty.¹⁴ All these were before 1740, as were those of nineteen hundred and fifty acres to Hector Berenger de Beaufain, who became one of the most honored and best loved men of the province. He was born in Orange, France, and came to South Carolina

¹² JC, Mar. 19, 1735; Court Records, Charleston, Common Pleas, MS, Feb. 1746 (Samuel Montaigut & Charles Purry, merchants, 1739); *ibid.*, August (John Linder of Purrysburg, storekeeper, 1745); SCG, Aug. 18, 1739 (advt. of Montaigut & Purry); JC, Apr. 6, 1752 (Isaac Brabant "Marchand in Purisburgh").

¹³ SCG, Aug. 15, 1754, J.C., Aug. 1, 1754; SCG, Sept. 8, 1739, June 11, 1741, June 15, 1747 (advts. of Peter DuPra, David Kinder, Paschal Nelson). Note the letter outlining a new currency system signed "C----- P-----" Purrysburg (SCG, May 3, 1739).

¹⁴ Smith, "Purrysburgh", pp. 211-217, SCG, Oct. 18, 1742 (advt. John Rodolph Grant); PR, XVII, 270 (Board of Trade Journal, Aug. 8, 1735), JCHA, June 26, 1736; Voigt, *German Element*, p. 29 (see also *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, XXIII, 190-191, on the "two Sorts of People" at Purrysburg).

from London in 1733. For several years he was a magistrate in Purrysburg, but later moved to Charleston; in 1742 he was appointed Collector of the Customs for South Carolina, and in 1747 became a member of the provincial council.¹⁵

In 1742 Peter Delmestre had four slaves as well as four white servants, but a decade elapsed before other negroes appear in the land records. In 1752 Henry de Saussure, whose first grant in 1738 was for only three hundred acres, declared that he had a wife, seven children, two white servants, and fourteen negroes. Within three years seven other inhabitants of the township received warrants which included the headrights of twenty-five slaves. The two thousand acres of Henry Bourquin in 1757 and similar surveys for half a dozen others in the next four years were probably based on slaves. These owners are all listed among the early Purrysburg immigrants.¹⁶

The white population of the township probably remained nearly stationary for a generation after the settlement period. In 1743 a petition stated that there were seventy men in its militia company; in 1757 there were sixty-four, showing that there were about three hundred and fifty settlers.¹⁷ Three-fourths of the land taken up between 1750 and 1765 was granted to persons of the same names or surnames as those of the early immigrants.

The migration to Purrysburg brought with it several professional men of note. Three doctors came during the period of settlement, although one of them, John Frederick Holzendorf, did not practice in Purrysburg. He was a Brandenburger and brought with him a letter of introduction from the Duke of Newcastle. By 1737 he had moved to Charleston.¹⁸ Francis Pelot was engaged by a neighboring planter as a tutor, married into the family, and eventually became the Baptist minister of the Euhaw church, between Purrysburg and Beaufort. At the time of settlement of the township two German schoolmasters are mentioned. One of them, a weaver, opened a school in 1735, but soon had to abandon both his trades. In 1748 the parsonage, being unfit for a dwelling, was used for a school, and for several years about 1740 some of the Germans had children at school in Ebenezer. David Zubly was one of the early planters of Purrysburg but developed religious scruples regarding slavery. At his death in 1757 his German books, including two that were silver-cased and edged, but excluding two that were lent out, were worth four pounds, and were of equal

¹⁵ *Year Book, Charleston*, 1880, p. 270; JUHA, Feb. 14, 1735; JC, June 1, 1738, Smith, "Purrysburgh", p. 212.

¹⁶ JC, Sept. 17, 1742, Feb. 4, Apr. 6, 7, Nov. 7, 1752, Jan. 7, June 6, 1755; Smith, "Purrysburgh"; P, VI, 342, 343, VII, 114, 127, 131, 142, 149, 243.

¹⁷ JUHA, Mar. 2, 1743 (see also JCHA, Jan. 30, 1740). JC, May 4, 1757.

¹⁸ PR, XVI, 123, 172 (Newcastle to Johnson, and reply May 22, Sept. 17, 1733); JC, July 7, 1752; Voigt, *German Element*, pp. 30-31.

value with his still pot; the two items were the most valuable in his inventory.¹⁹

Both the Lutheran and German Reformed faiths were represented among the German settlers and the former were occasionally visited by the Ebenezer pastors. The French, however, like the Huguenots of the previous generation, easily made the transition to the Anglican Church. Joseph Bugnion, one of the early arrivals in the township, was ordained in London on his way over, as was his successor, Henry Francis Chisselle, who served the community from 1734 to his death in 1758. Chisselle drew an allowance from the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the assembly voted him seventy-one pounds a year from the township fund. He held services for the French and German Switzers on alternate Sundays, preaching to the former but for the latter merely reading a German translation of the English prayerbook. In 1737 the meetings were in his house, but in 1744 "a large and decent edifice" was finished by private subscriptions and by a contribution of forty-six pounds from the township fund.²⁰

In 1735 Purry petitioned the assembly to make the township a parish, in accordance with the instructions of the crown; the inhabitants presented a similar petition in 1737. But no impression was made until 1746 when a petition was presented urging in strongest terms the need of "Parochial Government and Discipline". The Ebenezer pastors were violent in their denunciation of the settlers; "it indeed appears that by and by a wild, dissolute Indian life will be found among most of them." Doubtless the settlement had dropped into easy-going ways, though it does not appear that it deserved words as hard as these. By an act of 1747 the parish of St. Peter was formed, including the township and the district north of it to Kings Creek, forty miles from the town. It was given one member in the Commons House.²¹

By means of the established church and the plantation system the Swiss had become closely identified with tidewater South Carolina. Nevertheless, a protest which they made in 1759 against a road petition of some planters to the south of them shows that the barrier of language continued to exist, and that the old land grievance was not forgotten. The petition, they declared, if granted "would make your Petitioners fall again a

¹⁹ Leah Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists, 1670-1805* (Florence, 1935), p. 41, note; JUHA, Apr. 30, 1748, Voigt, *German Element*, pp. 26-28, Inventories, Charleston, MS, 1756-1758, pp. 117, 118. The scholarly minister John Joachim Zubly was David Zubly's son (George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*—2 vols., Columbia, 1870, 1883—pp. 266-267, Voigt, *German Element*, p. 49).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25, Frederick Dalcho, *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (Charleston, 1820), pp. 385-386; JCHA, Feb. 22, Mar. 6, Sept. 21, 1733, Nov. 15, 1734, Dec. 4, 1736, Apr. 19, 1744; JUHA, Mar. 2, 1733, May 30, 1735; JC, Apr. 21, 1744.

²¹ JUHA, Apr. 24, 1735; JCHA, Feb. 5, 1737, Nov. 27, Dec. 11, 1746; Voigt, *German Element*, pp. 25, 27, *Stats.*, III, 668-669.

Sacrifice to the most sordid, most glaring and most palpable Self-Interest to which for want of public Spirited Men amongst them that understood thoroughly the Laws and Language of the Country . . . they have ever been an easy Prey." The law for the proposed road was delayed four years, and in the final act the Purrysburgers partly won their point.²²

The permanent material results of Purry's settlement of foreign Protestants were modest enough, but in so small and exposed a province they were not to be despised. The failure of the town—due rather to the later and more heavily subsidized settlement of Savannah than to any ill-planning or mismanagement—was of minor significance. The southwest, the weakest point in the province in 1729, under the protection of Purrysburg and of Georgia, grew into a region of large and rich plantations.²³ Yet more important were the intangible achievements of these Switzers, who, thanks to their own good qualities and the training and culture of their leaders, were readily assimilated and in spite of the barrier of language made a significant contribution to the intellectual life of province and state.

²² JCHA, Jan. 17, 1759, *Stats.*, IX 202-204.

²³ Two other parishes were established between the Combahee and the Savannah: Prince William's in 1745, and St. Luke's in 1767 (*Stats.*, III, 658-660, IV, 266-268).

CHAPTER IV

AMELIA AND ORANGEBURG

With the southwest protected by Purrysburg the administration turned its attention to the exposed region between the Edisto and the Santee. Here the settlements reached farthest inland and the townships in this quarter were placed in the upper pine belt; better soil and better drainage gave the settlers an advantage over the Purrysburgers, and the distance from the coast largely relieved them of the inroads of the planters. Amelia Township was laid out on the west bank of the Congaree-Santee, with a town site at the mouth of the former stream, and was traversed its entire length by the Cherokee path. In the northeastern part of the township the land fell away sharply to the narrow Congaree bottom, but along the Santee the slope was more gradual, and the lowland and river swamp wider. A small creek rose in the center of the area and ran southeast between low hills covered with oak and pine, but when it reached the lowland and neared the river it became lost in a morass of mud and water called Halfway Swamp. On the headwaters of this stream and on Buckhead Creek and its branches was to be found the best land, a sandy loam with a good clay subsoil.¹

A few men applied for lots in Amelia "town", and had their lands surveyed nearby, but do not seem to have settled themselves there.² The administration took little interest in the township, doubtless because there were already a number of settlers on the Cherokee path who might serve to defend it. Among them was Charles Russell, former commander of the Congaree garrison, who as early as 1725 had established himself at Ox Creek (later Lyons Creek) where it joined the other main source of Halfway Swamp. The spot was well chosen, for here the slightly higher and better land of the upper pine belt began. It had probably been an ancient stopping place for Indians and traders, for the land was granted in 1704 to

¹ JC, June 7, 1733. The township was named for one of the princesses of the royal family. The plat (state archives) was made November-December 1733. Note that Bunch's plat (P, XIII, 425), adjoins the "town"; for location see plats of Jackson (P, XI, 490), Kelly (P, IX, 295), and Elliott (P, XV, 5), P. C. J. Weston, *Documents Connected with the History of South Carolina* (London, 1856), p. 177, Salley, *George Hunter's Map*. For description of the area see Bureau of Soils, *Field Operations*, 1904 (Washington, 1905), Orangeburg Area.

² For instance, David Brown (a ship carpenter of Charleston—JC, Jan. 25, 1744), P, II, 40-41; John Bryan, P, II, 52; John Cooke, P, II, 119; George Haig, P, II, 347; Rowland Stratham, P, III, 107; James Michie, P, II, 461. See also P, III, 169, 213.

George Sterling, whose daughter Russell married. In 1731 Russell bought the land from Sterling's son.³ The crossing continued to be a convenient stopping place on the road, and Robert Whitford, Joseph Lyons, Benjamin Carter and Thomas Weekly settled near Russell and had their lands surveyed on the creek. The Charleston records indicate that the men were from the coast of South Carolina. Near them was the cowpen of James Le Bas of St. John's Parish.⁴

One of the few foreigners among the early settlers of Amelia was Christian Gottlieb Priber, driven out of Germany, he afterwards said, for his Utopian schemes. In December 1735 he was advertising sundry personal effects for sale in Charleston. Two months later he asked for land in Amelia on the rights of himself and five other persons, probably servants; he proposed to bring his wife and four children from Saxony later. But the Congaree river bottom offered too narrow scope for his learning and ambitions, and during 1737 he resorted to the Cherokee country to erect a model state. Neither the colonial officials nor the English traders liked this new and would-be neutral power, and Priber ended his days a prisoner in the Georgia fort at Frederica.⁵

By 1740 about thirty-five surveys had been made in Amelia, amounting to over twelve thousand acres. A third of the number and half of the acreage were for non-residents. In the next nine years less than six thousand acres were added to the total; nearly all the applicants were residents.⁶

Major Russell died in January 1737, at the beginning of a mission as agent to the Cherokees. His widow continued in her home, which was even more conveniently situated than before, for from this point on the Cherokee path there now ran a path to Joyner's or McCord's ferry. Mrs. Russell supplied passers-by with food and drink; her bill to the provincial government for entertainment of Cherokees and Catawbas going to visit the governor was in 1742 about eleven pounds; in 1746 it was sixteen, and in 1750 twenty-five. Sugar, punch and drams were large items in these amounts. At that time five children and eleven slaves were part of her

³ For the date see notice of the death of his widow (A. S. Salley, Jr., *History of Orangeburg County*—Orangeburg, 1898—p. 198). For the location and identity of Ox Creek, see P, I, 235, VI, 58. The lines and bounds of P, I, 235, 368, 412-413, identify the tract. See Susan S. Bennett, "Some Early Settlers of Calhoun County", *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 1938.

⁴ See N. D. Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), pp. 98-99, and S. C. Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country* (Johnson City, 1928), p. 130; P, I, 235, 412-413, II, 90, IV, 210; JC, June 26, 1735; P, IV, 216, VI, 9; JCHA, Jan. 19, 1737. The names of the land owners occur in the Giessendanner record (Salley, *Orangeburg*), and similar names occur in A. S. Salley, Jr., *Register of St. Philip's Parish . . . 1720-1758* (Charleston, 1904).

⁵ JC, Feb. 27, 1736; P, IV, 28; Mereness, *Travels*, pp. 246-249; SCG, May 30, Aug. 15, 1743; JCHA, Mar. 1, 1739; V. W. Crane, "A Lost Utopia", *Sewanee Review*, January, 1919.

⁶ See the Amelia entries in the index to Plats. Evidence of residence may be found in the Giessendanner record, the advertisements in SCG, and petitions for land.

household.⁷ A rival for this trade appeared in 1747—Robert Rogers, lately arrived in the province, who described himself as Innkeeper of Boggy Gully, a small stream which entered Halfway Swamp a mile below the junction of Lyons Creek and Mill Creek. In 1749 Conrad Hallman surveyed the adjoining land below, and in time made his house also an important stopping place.⁸

Mill Creek, the eastern source of Halfway Swamp, received its name from Miles Jackson's mill, and in 1749, on his declaration to the governor that he and his neighbors had been successful in wheat growing, he was lent the bolting cloth needed to complete the mill. To the northeast and near the pleasant valley of Buckhead Creek, several small farmers and the owner of nine slaves established themselves during the 'forties, and Joseph Joyner began operating his private ferry over the Congaree at the tip of the great bend of the river.⁹

The northern part of the township, about High Hill Creek, was at the edge of the sand hill region, and was evidently least desired by settlers. Sir Alexander Cuming in 1730 noted "Iron Stone" and iron ore (the iron-bearing sandstone of the region) at several points within or near the township. That some use was made of it is indicated by the occurrence in 1753 of "Mine Branch" on one plat, and "Path to Mines" on two others, all above High Hill Creek.¹⁰ Ten miles above this creek, near Sandy Run, there was similar sandstone, and several notations on plats are good evidence that here too some enterprising smith smelted the ore.¹¹

Meanwhile, in the unsettled area on the banks of the nearby Edisto, the administration was planting the second group of Switzers who came among the bounty immigrants. The North Fork of the Edisto is one of the beautiful little rivers that rise in the sand hills; after reaching the coastal plain its swamps are from a half mile to a mile in width, but the stream is still bold and clear. The site selected for the town of Orangeburg was the east bank of the river where it turns sharply to join the South Fork, and the lines of the township were surveyed to make a rectangle extending to the western border of Amelia. Only the southern corner of the township lay in

⁷ JCHA, Feb. 26, 1737, Feb. 16, 1742, Jan. 23, 1746, Mar. 14, May 17, 1750; JC, Mar. 16, 1749; Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, JC, May 14, 1747; P, IV, 449, V, 230, VII, 255; JCHA, May 22, 1749, Feb. 9, 1750; SCG, May 7, 1750, Nov. 3, 1759.

⁹ See P, IV, 419, 522, V, 83, 212, VI, 62, XVII, 212-213; JC, Feb. 14, 1745, Nov. 21, 1746, Mar. 16, Nov. 7, 1749; SCG, May 14, 1750 (adv. of Thomas Bulline); Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 97, 99, 101, 114, 132; JCHA, Mar. 10, 1752, Apr. 10, 1753; JUHA, Mar. 9, 1752, Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*

¹⁰ Williams, *Early Travels*, pp. 130-131, Bureau of Soils, Orangeburg Area; P, V, 472, XII, 52, XV, 402.

¹¹ P, V, 224, VI, 399. See also "The Mine Land" (P, VI, 399). For location see below, p. 58, n. 15 and Map 3. The "mines" tract was Earingsman's plat; today an area of about half an acre partly covered with loose iron-sandstone, three-quarters of a mile from the highway in the direction of Bell Hall on the Congaree (see Mills, *Atlas*, "Lexington District"), indicates the location.

the flat swampy area of the lower pine belt; in the middle and upper portions, especially along the river, were large stretches of soil like the best in Amelia.¹²

On the 13th of July 1735 a ship arrived from Rotterdam with two hundred and fifty Swiss on board, ninety of them able to bear arms. The *South Carolina Gazette* enlarged upon the possibilities of their producing wheat and corn "which now we are obliged to purchase at what rate soever from our neighbours." They were to settle on the Edisto, that land being thought best for wheat, corn, hemp and flax, and likewise for vineyards. The Broughton administration pursued the enterprise with vigor. Within a fortnight over two hundred of the Switzers began their journey to the township, and fourteen months later lands had been surveyed and grants signed for eighty-three men.¹³

The newcomers probably found Joseph Robertson already settled in the township; he was evidently from St. Philip's Parish. In 1732 John Hearn "of James Island, hatmaker," declared that he had "settled" a tract of five hundred acres on the Edisto; the next year as "Planter" of Colleton County he had this tract surveyed and was then living on it. This doubtless was his cowpen, a short distance below the proposed site of the town; in 1741 he was justice of the peace. Seth Hatcher, a Virginian, had land in the township in 1735.¹⁴ The names of a dozen other non-German settlers occur in the land records up to 1740, and as many more appear in the next twenty years. Grants of land in the township to non-residents, however, were negligible.

For several years after 1735 the foreigners came in steadily; like the other German settlers prior to 1750, they were almost entirely Swiss. By 1740 30,000 acres had been granted or surveyed; in the next nine years 6,000 acres, and in the 'fifties 9,000 more was taken up, all in tracts averaging less than two hundred acres. Nine of the applicants were men who had completed their terms as indented servants. One of the former servants owned a slave, another had five, but there were only half a dozen other negroes listed throughout the period. However, as there were few additions to the original holdings—despite the fact that there were three or four hundred children born in the township between 1740 and 1759—this does not account for the possible purchases of slaves by the earlier settlers. The first choice for surveys was the high ground about the site of the town, and next the valleys of the two or three creeks in the south-

¹² Bureau of Soils, Orangeburg. A plat of Orangeburg has not been found. Several line plats (P, IV, 185, 255, 321, V, 242) show that Faden, *Map of S. C.*, gives the location more accurately than Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.* The name was evidently given in honor of the marriage of the Princess Royal to the Prince of Orange—see London News, *SCG*, Aug. 12, 1732.

¹³ *SCG*, July 19, 26, 1735; *JC*, July 19, 1735, Sept. 17, 1736.

¹⁴ *JC*, Nov. 23, 1732, June 26, 1735; P, II, 331, 358-359, III, 253, IV, 447; *Register of St. Philip's*, index, and Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 96, 202.

east and center of the township. Orangeburg was thus a compact settlement of small farmers, and suited perfectly the purposes of the founders. There were one hundred and forty-three men in the militia company of the township in 1757, and as there does not appear to have been any great loss by death or removals, it is probable that the population increased from about five hundred in 1740 to about eight hundred in 1759.¹⁵

Major Russell directed the settlement of the Orangeburg Switzers, and in the latter part of 1736 Lieutenant-Governor Broughton himself visited the Edisto and Santee townships to inquire into the complaints of the settlers. After Russell's death in 1737 Christian Mote was appointed agent for the Swiss and rendered valuable service. For a time he lived in Orangeburg, but in 1740 he advertised from Charleston a hundred acres and two lots for sale in Orangeburg, "upon one of which is built a neat, strong Dwelling-house, as also a Kitchen and other Out houses". John Chevilette who was in Purrysburg in 1736 had been formerly an officer in the Prussian service, and was in 1757 Colonel of the Berkeley County militia regiment. This organization included the companies of Amelia, Orangeburg and other settlements to the northwest; Christian Minnick, in the Edisto Forks, was Lieutenant-Colonel.¹⁶

The Switzers embarked in earnest upon their mission of supplying the province with grain, and in October 1737 Mote declared that they had begun a water mill on the Edisto which for completion would need "4 saws for a Water Machine to saw Plank, 4 Mill stones for grinding Corn", six hundred pounds of iron and one hundred pounds of steel. Despite an aid of twenty-nine pounds from the township fund for the purpose, Peter Roth reported in 1742 that the mill had never been completed, and proposed to finish it if he were granted an acre of land on the river adjoining the town. The plat of this acre, surveyed the next year, shows "The Mill" on the banks of the river a few yards from Front Street. This year and the two following the Orangeburgers were "favored with a very plentiful crop of Wheat" and had high hopes for the future.¹⁷

Henry Snell's application in 1742 for the bounty on hemp, the drowning of tiny Barbara Frolick in an indigo vat, the listing of indigo seed in one Orangeburg inventory with rice sieves in that and another from the nearby country, indicate that the settlement, in a small way, made some profit from the Carolina staples. Several tradesmen appear—another carpenter-millwright, a blacksmith, and, most enterprising of all, a counterfeiter, Martyn Binsky, who in 1751 on promise of pardon secured by his

¹⁵ JC, Feb. 14, 1745, Mar. 13, 1746, May 4, 1757; note baptisms in Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 94-213, and see Orangeburg in index to Plats.

¹⁶ JCHA, Apr. 26, 1735, Feb. 26, 1737; JUHA, Nov. 11, 1736, Dec. 9, 1737; JC, May 18, Dec. 3, 1736, Mar. 5, 1737, June 1, 1738; *SCG*, Sept. 6, 1740; Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 24, 32.

¹⁷ JUHA, Oct. 5, 1737; JCHA, Oct. 6, 7, 1737; JC, June 1, 1738, Aug. 27, 1742, Aug. 3, 1744; P, IV, 181.

wife, delivered up copper plates and six hundred and eighty-one counterfeit South Carolina notes. He revealed a plot for smuggling money through Philadelphia from Switzerland.¹⁸

The circuit court act of 1769 provided for a courthouse at Orangeburg, which had before been no more than a village, and shortly afterwards the town was resurveyed. John Chevilette in 1745 appears in Orangeburg as justice of the peace and as "John Chevilette & Comp. of Orangeburg Storekeeper." A traveller in 1767 found here a tavern, a store "and a man that pretended to preach".¹⁹

The position of the township and the compactness of settlement doubtless had much to do with the solidarity of Orangeburg, but the strongest force for unity and progress was its church. John Ulrick Giessendanner, from Lichtensteig, Switzerland, came with the colony. In March 1737 he advertised as a silversmith in Charleston, but in October, with Mote to read the service in English, he married an English couple in Orangeburg. His housekeeper, who had been for twenty-six years in his employ, followed him to America "& to prevent & obviate any cause offence or scandal" he married her, Mote performing the service. In the open near his house he preached every Sunday.²⁰

In hardly more than a year, however, the worthy minister died. His nephew, John Giessendanner, at the desire of the Germans went to Charleston to secure from the Anglican Commissary license to preach in Orangeburg. Mote persuaded him instead to take Presbyterian orders. His preaching was "to the Inexpressible satisfaction of the Congregation at Orangeburgh," and several years later the English of that and nearby communities observing him "to be a Man of Learning, Piety and Knowledge in the holy Scriptures, prevailed with him to officiate in preaching once Every fortnight in English, which he hath Since performed very articulate and Intelligible." In 1743 Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, Junior, a candidate for Anglican orders, attempted to displace Giessendanner. John Hearn "and above four score of the Dutch and English Inhabitants of Orangeburg and the adjoining plantations" sent an indignant protest to the governor. They were high in their praise of Giessendanner, and declared that Zouberbuhler had been sent for "by some wicked Persons, in one part of the Township" who had been exasperated by Giessendanner's public reprimand for "Great Irregularitys, and disorders" committed on the Sabbath.²¹

¹⁸ JC, July 4, 1749, July 12, Aug. 1, 6, 26, 29, Sept. 3, 1751; Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 202, 207-208; JCHA, Jan. 25, 1742; Inventories, 1758-1761, pp. 32, 283-284.

¹⁹ *Stats.*, VII, 198, Wallace, *History of S. C.*, II, 61, n. 71, above, p. 46; JCHA, Mar. 15, 1774; *SCG*, July 13, 1745 (Chevilette's advt.), Court Records, Charleston, Common Pleas, Feb. 1746 (note of 1745 due to Chevilette, see also suit by him in August term, 1747), Diary of T. Griffiths, Expedition to Ayorce 1767-1768, *The State* (Columbia), Dec. 30, 1929.

²⁰ Voigt, *German Element*, pp. 52-53, Salley, *Orangeburg*, p. 94.

²¹ See Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 35, 95, JC, Nov. 9, 1743, Mar. 6, 1744. Zouberbuhler later became rector of Christ Church in Savannah (Jones, *History of Ga.*, I, 525).

This secured Giessendanner in his ministry. Six years later he appeared armed with a supporting petition from the township and proposed to go to England for Episcopal orders, and thence to Germany and Switzerland as immigration agent. He was allowed fourteen pounds expense money, and was promised a shilling and a half a head for the foreign Protestants he might bring back. He returned shortly, having received orders, and brought with him fifty copies in German of the Book of Common Prayer. On a further petition to the assembly he was allowed for preaching in Orangeburg and Amelia fifty-seven pounds a year from the provincial funds. In 1757, on his plea that this sum was inadequate for the extensive service and for his "very numerous" family, it was increased to one hundred pounds. About the time that Giessendanner returned from England the Orangeburgers built him a church, in which he preached until his death in 1761.²²

The register begun by the elder Giessendanner was continued by the nephew until near his death. Before his ordination in 1749 it was in German; thereafter, as befitted a minister of the Church of England, it was kept in English.²³ One has but to read through the entries to understand the "Inexpressible satisfaction" of his parishioners, and the unique service he rendered the historian. His register shows that the German and English elements in Orangeburg tended to remain separate from one another but not aloof. There are many instances of one standing sponsor for the other in the baptism of children, and in the entire record, for the township and nearby communities, there were about a score of mixed marriages.

The long rectangle of level or rolling land between the North and South Forks of the Edisto was closely associated with Orangeburg, and had much the same type of soil, but both in population and industry presented a marked contrast. The rivers which shut it off from the coast put its agriculture at a disadvantage but served to enclose its cattle; the abundant cane of the swamps fed them, and the region soon became the largest and best range in the province.²⁴

Christian Minnick came to South Carolina about the time that the Swiss settled in Orangeburg; he began then or soon afterwards to raise cattle in the forks and before 1745 two other stocks of cattle are recorded. In 1744 a separate militia company of about thirty men was formed in this community, on the petition of settlers who complained of the difficulty of attending militia musters. Prior to 1749, when Minnick, along with Gavin Pou and William Young who appear in Giessendanner's register

²² JC, Feb. 26, 1748, Mar. 16, 1749; JCHA, Jan. 15, 1765, Aug. 11, 1769.

²³ The original record, recently acquired by the South Caroliniana Library of the University of South Carolina, was printed in Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 93-216.

²⁴ See Bureau of Soils, Orangeburg, Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C., South Carolina and American General Gazette* (cited as *SCAGG*), June 5, 1769 (advt. of Audeon St. John & Co.).

years before, applied for warrants, there were few surveys. By that time it is probable that the cattle raisers had establishments too valuable to be left without full protection of the law. There was, for instance, the property on the east side of the South Fork formerly owned by Joseph Russell. When his successor advertised it in 1755 the thousand-acre tract included fifty acres of cleared land, a good house and corn house, both cedar-framed, the dwelling house boarded above and below. There was also a negro kitchen and other outhouses, and a landing on the river.²⁵ Pou had one slave, Minnick six, and in the next five years applied for warrants on the rights of eleven more. There were four other applicants, among them Thomas Jones, cowkeeper, who appeared between 1740 and 1750 in the forks, but whose lands were not taken up until 1757 and 1758.²⁶ These families were ministered to by Giessendanner to all appearance as part of his Orangeburg congregation.

There was little if any navigation of the Edisto, and the road to Charleston spanned a forty-mile stretch of scantily settled country crossed by two wide swamps. The assembly gave no aid for building and maintaining bridges over these swamps, and the inhabitants found the labor and taxes burdensome, while the roads continued to be "very deep and dangerous . . . and exceeding troublesome. . . ." ²⁷ In 1756 a private bridge over the North Fork which gave access to the Charleston road was placed under public care, and these settlers pointed out to the assembly that it would be seventy miles nearer were the present route from Charleston to the Cherokee forts, which followed the road along the Congaree and Saluda, changed to run through Orangeburg and the forks.²⁸ But the forks population was probably less than two hundred, and much of the country was still waste; within the past six years there had been two advertisements mentioning "wild gangs of horses" in that section. The road to Saluda had to wait ten years.²⁹

With the end of the general depression in the province about 1748 the

²⁵ Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 94, 100, 162, 172; P, III, 263, IV, 520; *SCG*, May 19, 1739, Dec. 24, 1744, Dec. 22, 1746, Apr. 1, 1751, Jan. 30, 1755 (advts. of Abraham Du Pont, George Haig, James Marion, and Alexander McGregor); JC, Feb. 29, Apr. 13, 1744, June 30, Sept. 6, 1749, Dec. 3, 1751.

²⁶ JC, May 5, 1752, Apr. 14, 1753. For Jones and the other three applicants, see *SCG*, July 23, 1750 (advt. of Chevillet); John Clayton, Salley, *Orangeburg*, p. 107, JC, Mar. 1, 1757; Brand Pendarvis, JC, Dec. 5, 1758, *SCAGG*, June 5, 1767 (advt. of Gavin Pou), Salley, *Orangeburg*, p. 98; Leonard Varnido, *ibid.*, pp. 103, 108, P, VI, 294. See also John Simmons and James Pendarvis, Salley, *Orangeburg*, index.

²⁷ *SCG*, July 4, 1774; JUHA, Jan. 21, 1737, May 7, 1752; JCHA, Jan. 21, 1737, Feb. 25, 26, 28, May 21, 1741, May 9, 1752; *Stats.*, VII, 519-520, IX, 95-96, 140-141; Diary of T. Griffiths (above, n. 19).

²⁸ *Stats.*, IX, 183-184, 190-191; JCHA, Mar. 17, 1756, Feb. 2, 1757, Mar. 2, 1758; JUHA, Mar. 15, Nov. 15, 1756.

²⁹ JC, May 4, 1757, *SCG*, Oct. 23, 1752, July 25, 1754 (advts. of James Francis and Gavin Pou), *Stats.*, IX, 221. A plat surveyed in 1757 near Clouds Creek, a branch of Little Saluda, showed a "wagon road" from Orangeburg to Long Cane (P, XIV, 269), but there is nothing to show that it was much used for such traffic.

scantily developed Amelia began a rapid growth. During the year 1749 about twenty-five surveys or applications for land were made for persons settling in the township, a third of them for Germans. For the years 1749 to 1759 the total was between twenty-eight and thirty thousand acres, representing about one hundred and ninety warrants, evenly divided between German and English names. The Germans were a part of the great tide of this decade which the Indian troubles of the back country, aided perhaps by the efforts of the provincial government, turned back toward the coast. Less than ten percent of the total warrants for the decade appear to have been for non-residents and about the same number were for English settlers who already had lands. In the militia organization of 1757 were two Amelia companies, the lower of eighty-three men, the upper of fifty-five, but the latter evidently included some settlers north of the township. There were probably six hundred and fifty whites and a hundred slaves in the township.³⁰

Of this new migration the early settlement on Halfway Swamp received its share. John Fouquet in 1749 applied for a warrant for three hundred acres which included the rights for four slaves, and in 1753 for five hundred acres on ten headrights. His first tract was surveyed on Halfway Swamp immediately below Boggy Gully, and here he built up an establishment which, in his advertisement offering it for sale in 1758, he described at length: "a very good pleasant dwelling-house, a very large barn, stables, a stand for waggon and cart, a large smoak-house, and several negro houses; about 70 acres clear, and a good part thereof new ground, most under good fence, about 10 acres under wild indico, cut but once, with conveniences for making indico without pumps, and a good quantity of fruit trees."³¹

Nearly a score of small landholders made surveys in the valley of Buckhead Creek,³² while other settlers were moving in with capital and slaves for developing the land along the Santee. Moses Thomson, who according to family tradition was from Pennsylvania, settled in the Shenandoah Valley and bought a thousand acres from William Beverley. By the end of 1745 he had moved to Amelia where he presently became justice of the peace and captain of the militia. Headrights for thirteen slaves were included in warrants granted him in 1749 and 1754. His son William in 1755 married a daughter of Charles Russell and acquired a tract of four hundred acres at the mouth of Buckhead Creek, the beginning of his Belleville plantation.³³ Near him lived John McCord, former

³⁰ Below, p. 154, JC, May 4, 1757. For slaves see also JC, Dec. 5, 1749, Sept. 3, 1754, Aug. 5, Oct. 21, 1755.

³¹ JC, Oct. 3, 1749, Apr. 3, 1753, *SCG*, Dec. 15, 1758.

³² P, V, 83, 85, 133, VI, 36, 41, 85, 93; see also adjoining names in Plat index.

³³ *SCG*, Apr. 18, 1748; Joseph Johnson, *Traditions . . . of the American Revolution* (Charleston, 1851), pp. 91, 100-101; Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia* (3 vols., Rosslyn, 1912), III, 253-254; JC, Feb. 10, 1749, Oct. 7, 1751, Aug. 7, 1754; Salley, *Orangeburg*, p. 119; P, VI, 172.

Indian trader, and in 1759 proprietor of Joyner's ferry.³⁴ Moses Thomson made his home at the mouth of Halfway Swamp, and the settlement on the lower portion of that stream of others, residents if not natives of the province, shifted the center of gravity of the township to the southeast. This brought into the affairs of the community a group of Santee planters hitherto little interested in Amelia.³⁵

Giessendanner records frequent marriages or baptisms at Mrs. Russell's home, and the majority of Amelia names are in his register. Occasionally he appears at Moses Thomson's, or on Buckhead at William Martin's or John Lloyd's. In 1756 the upland settlers, through their "Trustees", asked aid of the Commons to complete their partly built church. The planter-controlled House rejected the petition, but "Amelia Chappel" occurs in Giessendanner's record in March 1757 and regularly thereafter. It seems to have been on the Cherokee road about a mile below the Ox Creek crossing.³⁶

The death of Giessendanner in 1761 cleared the way for the planters to assume control. In 1764 the House was petitioned by certain Amelia inhabitants, probably the same group as before, for some provision for a minister, and the next year the Orangeburgers asked that their township be made a parish. The answer of the assembly was an act to form St. Matthew's Parish, including in it the two townships and an additional section below Amelia on the Santee. The desire of the assembly to grant representation to the middle and back country, none too strong at best, was now sadly weakened by the veto of this act by the crown because it added two members to the Commons. St. Matthew's became a parish in 1768 with only one seat in the House, and that had to be taken from St. James Goose Creek. The acts provided for a chapel in Orangeburg and a church and chapel elsewhere as the commissioners should decide. The two Thomsons, William Heatley, and Thomas Sabb were among those named, and there could have been no surprise when the church was placed on the river road, above Halfway Swamp, and the chapel some miles south of it.³⁷

Orangeburg remained a township of small German farmers, but Amelia had become a planter's parish.

³⁴ Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 150; JC, Apr. 27, 1748, Mar. 16, 1749, May 7, 1751; JCHA, July 6, 1759, P. VI, 62; Salley, *Orangeburg*, index, *SCHGM*, XXXIV, 177-179. McCord's Ferry was not made a public ferry until 1766—*Stats.*, IX, 214. McCord appears as witness to a deed made by Thomas Brown Dec. 4, 1745 (Mesne Conveyances, MS, 3A, 182-187).

³⁵ For instance, Garret Fitzpatrick, Thomas and William Sabb, Ezekiel Cox, William Heatley, Jerome LeBoeuf—Salley, *Orangeburg*, index; JC, Sept. 6, 1749, Mar. 6, 1753, Feb. 2, 1756; *Register* . . . *Prince Frederick* (Baltimore, 1916), index; *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, 1934, pp. 48-51.

³⁶ JCHA, Nov. 17, 1756, Mar. 11, 1757; Salley, *Orangeburg*, p. 169; *SCG*, Dec. 15, 1758 (John Fouquet's advt.). See G. D. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1872), pp. 227-228.

³⁷ JCHA, July 31, Aug. 1, 9, 1764, Jan. 15, Mar. 7, 1765; *Stats.*, IV, 230-232, 298-300; Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*, Dalcho, *Episcopal Church*, p. 333-334.

CHAPTER V

SAXE GOTHA AND THE CONGAREES

The upper Congaree Valley was inevitably chosen for one of the new townships. Here the sand ridges faced each other across the river only two or three miles apart, inviting blue heights at a distance but desolate wastes underfoot. Above, the chief valley of the piedmont spread out like a fan. Below, on the west side for thirty miles the Congaree hugged the sand hills which east of the river receded before the steadily widening swamp and fertile plain. A settlement at the upper end of this valley and on the west bank of the river must always be cramped in its quarters, but would command the Cherokee path and much of the future traffic of the piedmont.

In 1730 or perhaps earlier Thomas Brown, of northern Irish origin, entered the Catawba trade, and a few years later established his famous store "near the Congrees Old Fort". This post had been on the high bank of the river at the point where Congaree Creek, approaching the larger stream, turns sharply to the south, a mile and a half above its mouth. Brown's brother Patrick was his partner until about 1740 when he entered the Creek trade. Concerned with them was Alexander Kilpatrick, who a few years later left the pathetic injunction to his executors to endeavor to get his son Thomas down from the Catawabas.¹

In 1733 the governor and council ordered a township marked off at the Congarees. With its reserve it extended from Sandy Run on the Congaree beyond Twelve Mile Creek on the Saluda, but the strip of desirable land was little more than a mile wide at any point. The town, eventually known as Saxe Gotha, was laid out just above the old garrison site with its Front Street paralleling the river bank for nearly a mile, and a reservation for a fort at its northern end. The ground was level and fertile and the location convenient.²

Between 1732 and 1735 eight surveys were made on the east bank of the river between the shoals and Patricks or Jacksons Creek. At least three, probably five, of the men taking up these lands were non-residents, the investment in the rich bottom land evidently appealing to them either

¹ Above pp. 11-12; Map 3; Wills, MS, 1736-1740, p. 229, 1740-1747, pp. 388-389, 1752-1756, p. 373; JC, Nov. 28, 1733 (Brown's Catawba son was fifteen years old in 1745—Mesne Conveyances, 3A, p. 183); JUHA, May 23, 1733, Feb. 28, 1744; Bureau of Soils, *Field Operations*, 1922 (Washington, 1928), Lexington.

² JC, June 7, 1733, Haig, Map of the Cherokee Country; P, IV, 166, 382, 469, VI, 325, XII, 135, 145, Map 3. The name was evidently given later in honor of the marriage of the Prince of Wales to Princess Augusta of Saxe Gotha—see JCHA, Dec. 4, 1736.

for future sale or for their own use.³ One tract was for Alexander Kilpatrick, another for Thomas Brown, and he or his brother Patrick also acquired the tracts of Dr. Daniel Gibson and of Henry Gignilliat, a Charleston vintner. The west side of the river was almost ignored until the arrival of the bounty settlers, but Patrick Brown had three hundred acres surveyed at the bend of Congaree Creek which included the site of the old fort. By 1736 Thomas Brown and John Beresford, a low country landowner, had acquired plats on Twelve Mile Creek, and Brown even secured two hundred and fifty acres at Ninety Six, fifty miles northwest of that point. They were anticipating the growth of the province by seizing the best crossings on the Cherokee path.⁴

In February 1735, during a temporary exhaustion of the township fund, several Switzers petitioned the assembly for payment of the passage of nineteen others of their party, in order that they might come on shore and settle in a township. Among the former were Martin Friday, John Ulric Beckman (or Bachman), John Ulric Muller and John Frederick Coleman. But Jacob Gallman was unable to pay for the transportation of himself and nine children, and John Matthias, Jacob Spuhl and five others were still bound for their passages. Anglicizing of some of the names had already begun; Coleman was evidently for Gallman, Friday for Fridig, and Matthias, Muller and Spuhl soon after began to appear as Matthews, Miller, and Spear. The Commons House provided the desired payment and ordered the immigrants sent to the Congarees. Half a barrel of powder and sixteen muskets were to be delivered "to the Patroon of the Periaque, who is to transport the . . . Swiss to the said Township."⁵ This is one of the few references to water transportation between Charleston and the Congarees. It may have involved the perilous voyage along the coast to the mouth of the Santee, or the safer but broken trip by way of the Cooper River. All of the names cannot be identified with the Saxe Gotha settlement; however, Jacob Gallman had his land surveyed immediately below the old fort and three others selected theirs near him. But Martin Friday had his two hundred and fifty acres surveyed two miles above at the falls, a site of which he later made good use, and three more established themselves nearby. A Charleston merchant, in May 1735, reported of the Swiss at the Congarees "that they were industrious and settling apace." In December the council read their complaint that Brown's store attracted Indians who destroyed their corn. Two years later the settlers gratified

³ See Map 3, Memorials, I, 50 (Satur), V, 186 (Gignilliat), J. H. Easterby, *History of the St. Andrew's Society of Charleston, South Carolina, 1729-1929* (Charleston, 1929), p. 22 (Stitsmith). Gibson does not appear as residing in the Congarees at any time. James Hopkins, a resident in 1737, seems to have given up claim to two surveys made near the site of the garrison in 1733—see P, I, 219-220, II, 344, JC, Nov. 28, 1733, Mesne Conveyances, 2B, 35.

⁴ Wills, 1740-1747, p. 388; P, I, 506, 514, II, 1, 17, V, 141; Map 3; below, p. 118.

⁵ See Map 3; JUHA, Feb. 5, 6, 7, 14, 1735; JCHA, Feb. 5, 6, 1735.

the provincial government by seizing six counterfeiters hidden near the settlement.⁶

In 1736 Stephen and Joseph Crell, who were German—whether Swiss or not does not appear—arrived with “their people” in Charleston and were transported to the Congarees at the expense of the township fund. Their seven hundred and fifty acres were surveyed for them on the river about the mouth of Toms Creek, the next stream below Congaree Creek. The following year a dozen other immigrants settled in the township. Three of them, Herman, Abraham and John Jacob Geiger, had withdrawn from John Tobler’s band of New Windsor Switzers who considered their departure a good riddance, Herman, so Tobler declared, being “a useless man . . . [who] swore and cursed.” The Geiger lands, along with those of several others of the newcomers, were surveyed immediately above Martin Friday.⁷ John Jacob Riemensperger from Toggenburg, Switzerland, arrived in South Carolina in 1737 with twenty-nine families of his countrymen. His plat, with several others, probably for those who came with him, was surveyed in the same year on the river below Toms Creek. At the same time three or four seem to have settled about the mouth of the Saluda, and even as high up as Twelve Mile Creek. Between 1736 and 1741 several English names are to be found among the Saxe Gotha plats; Robert Lang senior and junior, William Baker, Thomas Berry, Richard Myrick, and John Gibson had surveys near Savannah Hunt Creek. Gibson was probably a non-resident; the others doubtless lived on their lands. Myrick a few years later was living on Raifords Creek across the river.⁸

Like all the townships, Saxe Gotha had a very slow growth in the early 'forties. The most promising move for adding to its population was that of Riemensperger. He returned to Switzerland with a description of Saxe Gotha signed by thirty-one of the settlers which was published as a pamphlet at St. Gall in 1740. He was forbidden to seek emigrants in Zurich and was ordered from the territory. But late the next year he arrived at Savannah with a number of Switzers, part of whom went to Ebenezer. The newcomers were in a miserable state at the time of landing, and the pastors at Ebenezer reported nearly two months later that, despite the care taken of them, only two of the thirty who had started for Saxe Gotha were alive. However, the “several” orphans whom Riemensperger carried in carts to the township, and nursed in his home, were evidently other members of this luckless group. Nine years later four

⁶ Map 3 (H. Searly adjoined J. “Coleman”—P, IX, 476); PR, XVII, 339 (Samuel Eveleigh, May 1, 1735, received by Board July 4, 1735); JC, Dec. 2, 1735; JUHA, Jan. 16, Mar. 25, 1736; JCHA, Jan. 17, Feb. 4, 1736; SCG, Jan. 17, 1736.

⁷ JC, Sept. 29, 1736, May 28, June 5, 1742; “Tobler Manuscripts” (below, p. 67, n. 3), pp. 86–87. To locate the plats see Map 3 and P, IV, 161–162 (M. Friday), 239 (J. Shillig), 473 (J. Struck), IX, 397 (J. Credy), 472 (A. Geiger), XII, 68 (J. Liver).

⁸ PR, XXIII, 299 (Riemensperger’s petition to the crown, May 8, 1749); P, IV, 156, 157, 162–163, 355, 475; Map 3. See also below, pp. 150–151.

young Germans, two brothers of one name, two of another, asked for land between the Broad and Saluda, and explained that two of them had been cared for by Herman Geiger, and one each by Henry and John Coleman. In the case of each pair the bounty of one brother had been invested in cattle, that of the other taken by the guardian.⁹

There were twenty-five surveys in the township between 1740 and 1747 on nearly a hundred headrights of Germans, while three small tracts were run out for Englishmen. At the latter date a petition stated that there were in the township sixty-six fathers of families and a hundred and seven children. Modest as was the total of land holdings by English and German settlers there had already begun a small overflow to the north bank of the Saluda.¹⁰

The Crells were granted two hundred and fifty and five hundred acres respectively and evidently brought some capital with them. Stephen Crell became a justice of the peace, and sold goods under the name of Stephen Crell and Company. At his death in 1763, he had a stock of cattle, "some books", a Hebrew Bible, and a Greek Testament. In 1739 Joseph Crell declared that he had been at great expense "in Erecting a Water Mill" in the township. He so impressed the Commons House with the advantage that his mill would offer "to the Inhabitants of the several Townships who plant wheat" that he was granted twenty-two pounds for completion of the work. But he seems to have tired speedily of his Congaree farm at Toms Creek, and in September advertised it for sale. He thus put on record an excellent description of a back country establishment of the better type: five hundred acres "compleatly scituated to keep a Store, and a Stock of Cattle and Mares, with a new fram'd Dwelling House and other Buildings thereupon, viz a large Cornfield, Potatoes, Peas, Beans, &c. as also Wheat and Hemp already gather'd. . . ; moreover about 8 Bushels of Hemp Seed (the Produce of a Quarter of an Acre) 20 Acres of the Land being in good Fence all high dry Swamp rich Land fit to raise Hemp without any dunging. . .". He also offered three choice slaves "acquainted to manage the Hemp and to dress Deer Skins, Household Stuffs, Plantation Utensils, a Waggon, a Plough, a Brewkettle, Brass Kettles, . . . Hoes, Axes, . . ." etc. and choice cows, horses and hogs. The advertisement does not mention the mill, and the actual building was probably done by

⁹ MS notes of G. P. Voigt, citing letter of Archivist of Zurich; Samuel Urlsperger, *Ausführliche Nachricht von den Saltzburghischen Emigranten* (18 series, Halle, v.d.), series 10, p. 1856; JC, May 28, 1742, Dec. 4, 1750; PR, XXIII, 299 (n. 8); *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, II, 357-358, 370, 385. Peter Huber and Peter Inabnet, two Orangeburgers, also attempted to canvass Switzerland for settlers but were imprisoned in 1744, and Inabnet lost his life trying to escape. Huber returned to South Carolina, but there is no evidence that he brought settlers. See JC, Oct. 6, 1742, June 29, 1744, Feb. 10, 1750; A. B. Faust, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies*, I (Washington, 1920), pp. 12-16.

¹⁰ JC, Mar. 3, 1748; P, IV, 276, 385-387; see also JC, Nov. 11, 1747.

Philip Puhl, or Poole as he was often called, who acquired both of Joseph Crell's tracts of land.¹¹ In 1748 Puhl declared that he had a corn mill and was desirous of erecting a sawmill on the same stream. Martin Friday had a mill near the site of his ferry and at his death about 1758 owned another on Twelve Mile Creek above his home.¹²

A petition from Saxe Gotha in 1740, signed by thirty-nine persons of German name, shows that practically all of the Germans there were of the Reformed faith. They addressed their petition to the officers and citizens of the city of Zurich, and asked for prayerbooks, Bibles and psalters with notes arranged for four voices. When Riemensperger went to Switzerland he carried this petition but it was rejected at the time the authorities ordered him to leave the district. Christian Theus, the faithful minister of the congregation, came from Switzerland probably with his brother Jeremiah, the Charleston portrait painter, and in 1739 began his service to the Congaree Germans which lasted until after the Revolution. In response to a petition in 1747 which described the great need of the township for a church and school with a glebe and maintenance for a minister, a committee of the Commons House recommended that seventy-one pounds be paid from the township fund towards building "a Church and Free-School" in Saxe Gotha. The Lutheran ministers at Ebenezer declared that the money went to building a church for the Reformed congregation only. In 1751, however, William Baker gave half an acre on the Congaree a few hundred yards above the mouth of Sandy Run to the "Elders of the German Congregation of the Dissenting protestants at the Congrees . . . [with the Meeting house build on] for the sole . . . use of said German Protestants of the Helvetic or Walloone Confession as well as of that of Augsburg in Common." Eventually the Lutherans seem to have been left to themselves, for seventeen years later John Gallman gave an acre of land three miles above, likewise with a church upon it, to the Helvetic congregation.¹³

Just when the growth of the back country was merging the small Saxe Gotha settlement into that of the upper Congaree valley as a whole, the township lost its two most important men, Thomas Brown and George Haig. Brown died in 1747, leaving a considerable estate in lands and per-

¹¹ *SCG*, Sept. 1, 1739, Aug. 29, 1743 (Crell's advt.); *JCHA*, Mar. 1, 1739, May 8, 1749; Inventories, 1763-1767, p. 15; *P*, II, 108, 109, IX, 51; *JUHA*, Jan. 18, 1739. For the transfer of Crell's land see *Mesne Conveyances*, T, 478-479.

¹² *JC*, Oct. 5, 1744, Mar. 14, 1745, Mar. 9, 1748, Mar. 16, 1749; *JCHA*, May 25, 1749, Feb. 9, 1750; *SCG*, Dec. 22, 1758, Inventories, 1758-1761, p. 89. Friday also had a tan-yard, a windmill, nine negroes, a glass window worth three shillings, and "a small sett of House Organs." He purchased Anthony Stack's fifty-acre tract on Savannah Hunt Creek (Map 3, Memorials, VI, 304-305).

¹³ Zurich Archives, Akten, 369 (notes of G. P. Voigt); Bernheim, *German Settlements*, pp. 138-140, 142; *JC*, May 15, 1747, Feb. 6, Mar. 3, 1748; *P*, IV, 468, V, 33; *JCHA*, Mar. 5, 1748, May 25, 1749, July 19, 1760; *Mesne Conveyances*, 3M, 118-121, Memorials, VI, 370.

sonal property, but the decline of the Catawbias had been accompanied by his own ruin. In this year he had been unable to meet a note for twenty-seven hundred pounds, and his appraisers declared that of the accounts carried on his books "the Greatest part . . . are Desperate Debts". His effects included two silver watches, a sundial, a coffee mill, a trading boat valued at £21, 250 bushels of wheat, 43 head of cattle, 185 head of horses, and 22 slaves, "some of which have been long used to a trading Boat and Pettiauger."¹⁴

The back country career of George Haig is among the most interesting in the history of South Carolina expansion. On May 5, 1733, as "George Haig of Charles Town . . . Gent." he was appointed deputy surveyor. For the next few years he surveyed lands in the low country and in the Santee and Congaree townships. In 1737 he was appointed justice of the peace and probably about that time moved to Sandy Run, having his home about a mile below the crossing of the Cherokee path. He became engaged in the Catawba trade and in 1742 brought the Catawbias to yield up for justice one of their number who had ravished a white woman. The Catawbias at the time were about four hundred warriors and were not so uniformly well behaved as they were thereafter, when they had lost heavily by smallpox.¹⁵

Like other leaders of his time Haig could withhold his hand from no office or business. He surveyed most of the early Saxe Gotha and Orangeburg plats, carried on his Indian trade, and was captain of the local militia company. Between 1737 and 1746 he bought eleven hundred and forty acres of land in the Congarees or in the lower part of the province. He was constantly in correspondence with the governor on Indian affairs and in 1746 went to the Cherokees as assistant to Colonel George Pawley, the agent who effected the important Ninety Six purchase. Here he made enemies of the Iroquois by seizing from them some captive settlement Indians, and two years later, on a trip to the Catawbias, he was taken prisoner. With the half-breed son of Thomas Brown he was carried northward through the Cherokee towns, where the traders tried in vain to get the Cherokees to intercept the party of their dreaded cousins and rescue the prisoners. Mrs. Haig sent a spirited petition to the governor begging that the trade to the Cherokees be stopped until they interfered. She transmitted this through her husband's factor, Thomas Corker, and the sensible merchant likewise handed in the eloquent and dignified letter she had written to him, with its postscript: "Please to send me something for a

¹⁴ Wills, 1740-1747, pp. 388-389; Court Records, Charleston, Common Pleas, Aug. 1747; Inventories, 1746-1748, pp. 162-169; *SCG*, June 15, 1747 (advt. of Brown and Corker).

¹⁵ P, I, 72, 114, 205, II, 47, 53-54, 344, 376, V, 224, VI, 325, 399 (plats of Mercier and Earingsman and marks); Commissions and Instructions, 1732-1742, MS, p. 18; William De Brahm, *Map of South Carolina* (London, 1757); JC, July 5, 1742; PR, XXIV, 408 (Glen to Board, Dec., 1751), Adair, *American Indians*, p. 224.

Gown that is light & Coarse for every days Wear & very grave, if Callico let there be but little White in it or Stamped Linnen.”¹⁶

A year and a day from the time of Haig's capture there was read in the council a letter of President Palmer of Pennsylvania and the journal of Conrad Weiser, Indian agent, which gave news of Haig's fate. Despairing of escape and worn out with the journey, he had forced his captors to kill him. His more phlegmatic companion had been ransomed by Weiser and got safely home. Haig's personal estate amounted to about £570, and included 2 old silver watches, 5 old candlesticks, 15 packhorses, 44 horses, 18 negroes, and 42 gallons of rum.¹⁷

During these dozen years of Saxe Gotha's growth, a separate and curiously contrasting development was taking place across the river. Immediately below the shoals, the east bank of the Congaree widened out into a poorly drained bottom which is now regularly overflowed by the river. Two miles below the mouth of Jacksons Creek, later known as Gill Creek, and about four miles from the site of the Congaree garrison, Green Hill rose above high water, and the river bank for a short distance invited settlement. Here Philip Jackson had two hundred and fifty acres surveyed in 1740; and on "Green Hill Path", which Haig traced upon the plat, he later built his house. Other plats were run out on the river bank in the early 'forties, despite the danger of high water. One four hundred acre stretch, crisscrossed by water courses, was surveyed in 1741 for Elihu Baker, a resident on Ashley River; it was bought by George Haig, and on the plat appears a sketch, perhaps more of a prophecy than an achievement, of a "Rice Field". But the most desirable land in this district lay two miles east on the edge of the lowland. Here for several miles a level terrace of silt loam, fertile and easily cultivated, parallels the river. Raifords Creek, the present Mill Creek, enters this narrow strip about two miles below Gill Creek; it then begins an amazing series of turns and three miles farther, having traversed many times that distance, reaches the river bottom.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 344; Memorials, VII, 485-486; JC, Mar. 27, Oct. 21, 1746, Mar. 29, Apr. 16, 21, 1748; SCG, Apr. 23, 1753; vol. IV of Plats.

¹⁷ Inventories, 1748-1751, pp. 174-176; JC, Mar. 18, 1749. Adair, *American Indians*, pp. 343-345, tells part of the story, but uses only the initials, "G.H."; and John H. Logan, *History of the Upper Country of South Carolina* (Charleston, Columbia, 1859), pp. 302-306, reversing the initials assumes that it was Herman Geiger who was slain.

¹⁸ P, IV, 85, 251, VII, 81; Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, pp. 33-34, Bureau of Soils, *Field Operations*, 1916 (Washington, 1921), Richland. Two early attempts to exploit this region came to naught—Thomas Brown's "purchase" from the Wateree Indians of the land between the Congaree and the Wateree, and the proposal of John Cartwright and John Selwyn of London to settle a thousand Protestants on a grant here of 200,000 acres (JUHA, Feb. 28, 1744; JCHA, Feb. 28, Apr. 20, 21, 1744; PR, XIX, 176-179, 195-198, 228-231 (Petition of Cartwright and McCulloh's proposal, received by Board May 30, June 14, 1738; Order in Council, July 20, 1738).

In 1740 Richard Jackson had four hundred acres surveyed at the head of this stretch, but his name was given to the stream farther north; his headrights probably represented several slaves, for he had seven when he died in 1750. At the other end of the terrace, four miles away, Philip Raiford in 1742 and 1743 had two tracts surveyed and later acquired two others nearby, the total amounting to nearly thirteen hundred acres.¹⁹ John Pearson, who was in Amelia Township in 1737, in 1742 married Raiford's daughter Mary, and bought a warrant for three hundred acres near the tract of his father-in-law. He proceeded to clear and cultivate the land, built a house and barn, and made his home there. The purchase of the warrant, however, merely extinguished the claim of the original applicant; the legal title he secured later on his own rights of three children and three slaves. On Haig's death Pearson turned to surveying and became the most active of these enterprising developers of the back country. Following his business he moved up to Broad River about 1755, but after his bankruptcy in 1766 returned to the Congaree.²⁰

John Fairchild, Pearson's chief rival as surveyor, was evidently from the coast country. He had four tracts, eight hundred acres, surveyed on or near Raiford's Creek between 1741 and 1745 and for a time lived there. By 1742 William Howell and, within a few years, Thomas and Arthur Howell had acquired tracts of land adjoining each other on the creek between Pearson and Raiford. Thomas Howell's plat, like those of several of his neighbors, shows his house on the very edge of the high bank of the creek, and from his house to that of William the surveyor traced "an Avenue".²¹

In 1741 the blacksmith, Thomas Wallexelleson, settled on the river and plied his trade. He neglected to have his warrant surveyed, however, and four years later had to hasten to Charleston where he indignantly and successfully protested against the attempt of Gilbert Gibson "contrary to law and the intent of an hospitable Neighbour" to take up the greater part of his timber.²² William Hay claimed to have been "in Low and mean Circumstances" when he came from Virginia about 1748, but he bought

¹⁹ P, IV, 76-77, 86, 382, V, 155; Map 3 (E. Reese); Wills, 1747-1752, pp. 62-63. See also *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, IV, 330 (Philip Raiford).

²⁰ Wills, 1736-1740, p. 30, JC, Aug. 2, 1749, Feb. 8, 1751, Salley, *Orangeburg*, p. 107 (note P, V, 155, 214, for paths to John Pearson's); P, IV, 502, below, p. 156. He was "a good Judge of Land" (*SCGCJ*, Nov. 19, 1771, advt. of John Ward).

²¹ P, II, 256, IV, 184, 327, 352, 354, V, 131 (see IV, 270, 293, 299, 382, V, 222), *Register St. Philip's*, p. 73. William Howell's later headrights included five negroes and when he died he had twelve, while Thomas had fourteen slaves and nine sheep—JC, Nov. 29, 1744, Sept. 6, 1749, May 2, 1750, Oct. 1, 1751, Inventories, 1758-1761, pp. 394-395. John Gallman who died in Saxe Gotha about 1760 had eight sheep (*ibid.*, p. 22).

²² JC, Nov. 2, 1742, Oct. 5, 1744, Mar. 22, 1745; P, IV, 309; Inventories, 1751-1753, p. 420; Wills, 1747-1752, p. 521. Gibson, a native of the province, was illiterate; when he died about 1760 he owned five slaves, a plow and a thousand pounds of wheat (JC, Oct. 5, 1744, Jan. 27, 1750, Inventories, 1758-1761, pp. 588-589).

Richard Jackson's land, on which he built "a Griss Mill", and in 1750 had four negroes in his family besides seven children.²³

By the end of 1747 about forty plats, a dozen of them for Germans, had been added to the earlier surveys between the falls and the mouth of Raifords Creek. Raiford's holdings were the largest and few were over five hundred acres. The total population was probably about two hundred. Green Hill was the outlet for their wheat and cattle, but cut off as they were by river, swamp and creeks, they were badly handicapped. There were few plats below Raifords Creek; indeed, the section between that stream and the mouth of the Congaree remained almost unsettled until after the Cherokee War. The swamp, here three or four miles wide, lay almost entirely on the east side of the river, and even such lovers of mud and water as the planters could hardly hope to use it, and neither they nor the small farmers cared to take up the fertile land paralleling the swamp when it meant complete isolation from the river. The Indians may have constituted another obstacle to settlement of the region. The Catawbias or Waterees probably hunted in the swamps long after the settlement of Saxe Gotha.²⁴

With the renewal of the German immigration the English element in the Congarees fell far behind in numbers. Their petitions between 1749 and 1759 amounted to about a hundred and thirty headrights, over half of them in the township. The best lands, however, were gone; the two hundred and fifty Germans who now established themselves in Saxe Gotha and the fifty who settled across the river brought the population of the upper Congaree valley to eight or nine hundred, but were unable to compete with the English or earlier Swiss-German settlers for offices, honors or trade. There were three settlers from Virginia, one of them John Taylor from Amelia County, who in 1756 bought the land of Thomas Wallexelleson. John Hamelton, another of the newcomers, was a soldier from one of the independent companies, who after his discharge settled on Broad River near the Congarees. He became deputy-surveyor and, about 1754, justice of the peace; twelve negroes were numbered in his headrights.²⁵

²³ JC, Sept. 6, 1749, May 2, 1750. The mill appears to have been near the site of the dam of the present Adams Pond, or perhaps nearer the junction of Mill (Raifords) and Little Creeks. See Map 3, and plats of Hardy Hay and Robert Goodwyn adjoining (P, VIII, 354, XI, 300). See also Mesne Conveyances 3Q, 346. Note that there was another mill on a small creek five miles above (Map 3).

²⁴ See below, p. 99. Note "Notchee Gut" and "Path to the Notchees" on two Raifords Creek plats (Map 3). Some of these Notchees—fragments of the Mississippi Natchez tribe—were to be found at this time among the Cherokees, in the Catawba towns, and in the low country near Four Hole Swamp—see John R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley* . . . (Washington, 1911), pp. 247-248, 254-255; JC, July 25, 1744, Feb. 4, 1747; JUHA, Mar. 25, Sept. 12, 1738; Indian Books, V, 93-94; SCG, Apr. 27, 1734.

²⁵ SCHGM, XXVII, 204-205, JC, Feb. 2, Apr. 6, July 4, Oct. 4, 1749, Aug. 4, 1752, Mar. 6, 1753; SCG, Oct. 31, 1754 (adv. of Hamelton); above, p. 27, n. 27; P, V, 116; Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 93; Mesne Conveyances, 2S, 140-145.

Henry Christopher Beudeker, one of the few tradesmen to appear, was a Westphalian brewer and linen-maker. Having "Tasted Philadelphia and New York Beer . . . the best of which he reckoned bad" he asked aid of the governor and council for the establishment of a brewery at the Congarees, whence he would float his product down the river. He received seventy-one pounds as a loan from the township fund. The next year he applied for a further grant because of the loss of his barley crop, but this was refused, and nothing more is heard of his scheme.²⁶

In 1746 the Germans proudly showed Governor Glen their "large fields with fine Wheat" and Martin Friday had 2,466 pounds of flour when he died. For supplying Fort Loudoun in 1756 and 1757, over a hundred thousand pounds of flour was sent from the settlement, and Henry Gallman was ordered to buy there three or four thousand pounds of bacon.²⁷ Much of this flour and bacon, however, may have come from the nearby communities. The successful establishment of indigo planting on the coast suggested the crop as a possibility for the middle country and even for the back country, for it grew fairly readily in both regions. A tract on the river above Green Hill was advertised in 1755 as choice land for indigo, but there are few references to it. Flax and hemp added small amounts to the income of the more enterprising settlers.²⁸

The rise during the 'fifties of successful families like the Howells and Raifords was accompanied by a small exodus of others. Besides Fairchild and Pearson, who were doubtless looking for surveyor's fees, a dozen Congaree names are found in the piedmont between 1749 and 1759. Solomon McGraw went to Little River of Broad, and there were several others on that stream who evidently had connections with the Raifords Creek settlement. Philip Raiford, Junior and James Leslie were also on Broad River by 1756. Samuel Lines went to the lower Saluda, while Robert Lang senior and junior, or two men of their name, went one to the upper Saluda, the other to Crims Creek, a branch of Broad.²⁹ Ill health and floods alone were quite enough to drive these men from the low-lying bottom east of the river, but some no doubt moved because of opportunities to sell to more successful neighbors. From the west side, which offered higher ground next to the river, there appear to have been fewer departures.

Other changes equally significant were taking place in the Congarees.

²⁶ JC, Jan. 18, 1749, Jan. 26, 1750, JCHA, Feb. 9, 10, 1750. Andrew Barner, cooper and distiller, settled near Raifords Creek (JC, Nov. 6, 1750, Aug. 6, 1751, Map 3).

²⁷ PR, XXIV, 431 (Enclosure with Glen's letter of December 1751 to Board); Inventories, 1758-1761, p. 89; JCHA, May 14, 1752; Indian Books, V, 379, VI, 32. ²⁸ SCG, June 15, 1748 (advt. of sale of Brown's property), Jan. 23, 1755 (advt. Provost Marshall); for identification, see Map 3, and P, IV, 497. See also above p. 56, and below, n. 34. William Howell, in his thousand pounds of personal property in 1757 had no indigo. His inventory included a number of notes, 45 head of horses, 185 head of hogs, and 36 sheep (Inventories, 1756-1758, pp. 178-179).

²⁹ See Map 3, below, pp. 147, 148, and n. 6, and P, V, 498.

In 1749 Martin Friday was feeding travelers and transporting them across the Congaree at the foot of the shoals. His petition for the ferry privileges aroused to action his countryman, Jacob Geiger, and both plied the Congaree in canoes while they built flats in anticipation of the assembly's action. Elizabeth Haig and Robert Steill also asked the coveted privilege, but in 1754 Friday won the contest.³⁰ The Raifords Creek settlers used a private ferry at Green Hill until 1756, when Thomas Howell completed a road thirty miles in length from another ferry over the Congaree south of Raifords Creek to the road leading north from Friday's Ferry.³¹

Thomas Brown's death in 1747 was followed by the appearance of several traders at the Congarees. Robert Steill, who was a member of a Charleston firm, settled on the Congaree opposite the fort in 1749 or 1750, and succeeded to the Catawba trade of Brown and Haig.³² He had sixteen negroes and a white servant. The chief heir of Brown's Cherokee trade, however, and perhaps its purchaser, was one of the first of the bounty settlers, Herman Geiger, who in 1748 and the years following was supplying the traders with goods and serving food and drink to passing Indians. In 1749 and 1751 he took up a thousand acres of land in the vicinity.³³ He died in 1751, leaving an estate appraised at nearly nineteen hundred pounds, including nine negroes, thirty-three horses, sixty head of cattle, and seventy head of hogs, two four-horse wagons, over a thousand pounds in bonds and book debts, a gristmill, a windmill for cleaning wheat, a broken sawmill, a trading boat worth twenty-eight pounds, five psalters, a sermon book, a Bible, two decanters and twenty dram glasses.³⁴ With his death the outpost of the Cherokee trade shifted northwestward to Ninety Six, and to the hands of one of Geiger's clients, Robert Goudey. The Congaree store continued in existence and at one time or another there were several others.³⁵

³⁰ JCHA, May 25, 1749, Feb. 9, 1750, Feb. 9, Mar. 6, 1751, Mar. 10, 1752, Feb. 8, 27, 1754; *Stats.*, IX, 176-177; JUHA, Feb. 8, 1751, Mar. 9, 1752.

³¹ P, V, 155; the line marks show that James Myrick's land (see John Aberly's plat, P, IV, 431) was E. Baker's survey (P, IV, 270); JCHA, Nov. 16, 1756, Mar. 15, 1757; *Stats.*, IX, 214-215, Mouzon, *Map of S. C.*

³² Court Records, Charleston, Common Pleas, Feb. 1754 (Wright and Hume, surviving Steill); there was a Robert Steale in the Yamasee country in 1711 (A. S. Salley, Jr., *Journal of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade . . . 1710 . . . 1715* (Columbia, 1926), p. 13; JC, Jan. 19, 1749, May 16, 1750. Steill died in 1753 (PR, XXV, 354—Glen to Board, Oct. 25, 1753).

³³ See above, p. 55; JC, Nov. 16, 1738, June 4, July 18, 1748, Jan. 6, July 4, 1749, Mar. 23, May 7, 1751; JCHA, June 28, 1748, May 22, 1749.

³⁴ JC, Mar. 17, 1752; *SCG*, Sept. 16, 1751 (advt. of Elizabeth Geiger); Inventories, 1751-1753, pp. 107-109. Compare this inventory with that of William Strother of the Congarees who likewise died in 1751: 18 negroes, 22 head of cattle, 54 head of hogs, 4 beds and their "furniture," each bed exclusive of bedstead being worth five pounds, a dozen pewter soup plates, a coffee mill, a linen and a woolen wheel, 2 flax hackles, 5 old books, and 4 bee hives. The total value of the personal property was nearly seven hundred pounds (*ibid.*, pp. 40-42).

³⁵ See above, p. 56, below p. 132; the commander of the Congaree fort also had a store (JCHA, May 8, 1749, Jan. 27, 1750).

Haig's murder in 1748 and other Indian outrages caused the assembly to provide for a palisade fort at the Congarees and for two troops of rangers to patrol the frontier during the immediate danger. John Fairchild was given command of one of these troops, and in this capacity or for some other reason was marked out like Haig for the special vengeance of the Iroquois; during one long moment, while he sat in a house at Saluda Old Town, two of them looked into his face while their fellows surrounded the house. The dim firelight and the stout lying of his friends barely saved him this time, as did the fleetness of his horse in another crisis.³⁶ The fort at the Congarees was completed near the end of 1748 and a garrison was maintained there for several years. One of the commanders, Lieutenant Peter Mercier, married Elizabeth Haig, and by his death in 1754 in the battle of Great Meadows in Virginia she was left again to care for her fortunes. In the next five years, while she continued to gather up small cash from sales of petty supplies or entertainment of Indians, nearly nine hundred acres of land were surveyed in her name.³⁷

The spiritual state of this crossroads of inland South Carolina doubtless continued to be none of the best, and it was difficult to better the situation because of the hopeless divisions in the community. The German and English elements tended to remain separate, and each of these was divided—the Germans into Lutheran and Reformed, the English into Baptist and Anglican. The Reverend John Giessendanner visited the Congarees occasionally if not regularly and doubtless preached to the settlers when he baptized their children. The services were usually held in Mrs. Haig's house.³⁸

In 1756 an act was passed allowing thirty pounds a year to a minister who should hold services in the Congarees "and six times a year at least, at the most populous places within forty miles of the same." For a time this service was rendered by Abraham Imer, recently rector of Purrysburg, who died at the Congarees in 1766. Theus continued his ministry to the Reformed congregation, and there was also another German church at Crims Creek on Broad River.³⁹ The visits of the Reverend Philip Mulkey

³⁶ JC, Mar. 29, Apr. 21, 1748, May 18, 1750, May 13, 1751, JCHA Apr. 8, 1748.

³⁷ JC, May 20, July 20, 1748, Feb. 8, 1749, May 9, 1751; Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 6, V, 1-4; Salley, *Orangeburg*, p. 140, below, p. 208, n. 79; JCHA, May 12, 1758, *Stats.*, IV, 121; P, VI, 325, 394, 407. Mrs. Mercier later married David Webb of the Congarees, who had been a lieutenant of rangers in the Cherokee War (*SCG*, July 5, 1760, Oct. 8, 1763—advt. of Millicent Lang, Mesne Conveyances, 30, 12-18).

³⁸ Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 122, 123, 140, 149-150, 159-160, 163. The Lutheran pastors of Ebenezer described the Congaree settlers, at the time when the Reformed Church was dominant there, as "a vile mixture of bad men" (Voigt, *German Element*, pp. 35-36).

³⁹ JUHA, Jan. 23, 1756; *Stats.*, IV, 20-21; *SCGCJ*, Sept. 9, 1766; Dalcho, *Episcopal Church*, p. 386; Library of Congress Transcripts of Fulham MSS, N. C., S. C., and Ga., No. 72, p. 44; below, p. 155. Imer's personal property advertised later included four negroes, a riding chair, and some "valuable Books" (*SCGCJ*, Dec. 23, 1766).

of Fairforest Creek led to the forming of the Congaree Baptist Church in 1766, with John Pearson, Isaac Raiford and about thirty others, chiefly late arrivals in the community, as the first members. The church was built in the same year on land given by William Howell, apparently part of the mill tract he acquired from William Hay.⁴⁰

Diverse and discordant as were these Congaree groups, they had by 1759 developed a settled society that was no discredit to the province, and were effectively exploiting the limited agricultural resources and the commercial possibilities of the upper Congaree. In the township defense system the settlement was a conspicuous success; the chief passage from the hill and mountain country to the coastal plain was now completely blocked by an independent and resourceful population. The credit for establishing this outpost was due in part to the provincial government, but even more to an unusual group of frontiersmen, both English and Swiss.

⁴⁰ Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, pp. 142-143. For the location of the church see *ibid.*, Mesne Conveyances, 3Q, 346, 3S, 70; P, XIX, 192 (path to meeting house, John Pittman's plat, which was near Back Swamp).

CHAPTER VI

NEW WINDSOR AND THE SALKEHATCHIE FORKS

Fort Moore, like the site of the old Congaree garrison, was better situated for defense than for a center of township settlement. On the eastern side of the Savannah, for six miles below the shoals, great ridges, little better than the sand hills beyond them, lay parallel with or facing the river and left small space for river bottom or good upland. The southernmost of these ridges ended in a bluff that dropped a sheer hundred feet to the river bank, and from this height Fort Moore commanded, at the same time that it was protected from, the great western trading path that approached the opposite bank.¹

In the wider bottom of swamp and lowland below the fort and on the slopes of the higher land lay the restricted agricultural possibilities of the neighborhood. Greater promise for a town was offered by the other side of the river where there was more good land and where traders could establish storehouses and save the expense of transportation across the river. But few thought of this in 1735, and even though the Georgia town of Augusta was founded the same year, most of the traders clung to the safer east bank and to their old trading post, which continued to be called Savannah Town.

Sebastian Zouerbuhler of Appenzell, Switzerland, came to South Carolina in November 1734, commissioned by the Protestants of his canton to find them a place for settlement. The next six months he spent in viewing the proposed township sites and in conference with the lieutenant-governor and council. In July he signed a contract to bring over a hundred families to settle within eighteen months in the township at Fort Moore, the province supplying the settlers with food, tools and cattle, and furnishing lands free of all surveying charges and other fees. Two hundred more families were to be brought over "with all convenient speed". No reward for Zouerbuhler was stipulated, but he evidently hoped for money from the township fund and expected a grant of land from the crown.²

About fifty Swiss families, numbering a hundred and ninety-two per-

¹ Bartram says (*Travels*, p. 313) that by 1776 the river had eaten away the site of the fort, and in view of present-day shifts of the current this may well be so.

² PR, XVIII, 111-117 (Board of Trade Journal, Feb. 8, Mar. 15, Apr. 29, May 3, 5, 1737), 174-177 (Zouerbuhler's petition, received by Board Feb. 7, 1737); JC, June 27, 1735, Apr. 2, Dec. 15, 16, 1743. He was allowed 16,000 acres but does not seem to have had it surveyed.

sons, came to South Carolina under this agreement. They set out in August 1736, under the leadership of the Reverend Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, the father of Sebastian, and Johannes Tobler, former governor of Appenzell. Tobler and half or more of the immigrants were of the moderate party in Appenzell, and as a result of a recent defeat Tobler had lost his position. The Rotterdam magistrates were unwilling to allow them to depart in an English vessel and held them six weeks, so that they did not arrive in Charleston until the first of February, 1737. Tobler led a party of twenty-five by the direct path to Fort Moore, finding a grasping "inn-keeper" half-way the distance, but the rest of the settlers went by boat. It was April before these started on their way; the journey to Fort Moore consumed an additional six weeks, and in the hot season succeeding many became sick and forty died.³

New Windsor Township was marked to extend from the mouth of Town Creek to a point about seven miles above Fort Moore. The "town" was laid out with the fort in its northwestern corner and most of the plats lay between it and Silver Bluff, about ten miles farther down. In 1737 and 1738 the names appear of twenty-two Germans who had land surveyed in the township.⁴ Probably a number of the Switzers came over as the servants of Zouberbuhler and Tobler and were therefore allowed no land at this time.

Between 1732 and 1738 twenty-six persons of non-German name had lands surveyed in the township area. Ten of them were concerned in the Indian trade and there were others with the same surnames as the traders.⁵ The population of the township in 1738 was perhaps three hundred. Few names were added to the list between that time and 1760, and the removal of the stores to Augusta after 1740 probably kept the population nearly stationary. Three of the later applicants for land also had Indian trade interests. John Dick, whose name suggests that he was from Williamsburg, settled in New Windsor about 1742, and ten years later applied for a warrant on Town Creek, which "is Convenient for his Trade of Tan-

³ PR, XVIII, 176-177 (above, n. 2), 232-233 (Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, Apr. 9, 1737, received by Board, Apr. 12, 1738); Voigt, MS notes (citing letter of Archivist of Zurich), and *German Element*, pp. 31-33, 47; JC, Mar. 31, 1737; SCG, Feb. 5, 1737; "John Tobler Manuscripts", edited by C. G. Cordle, *Journal of Southern History*, February, 1939, pp. 83-97.

⁴ JCHA, Sept. 20, 1733, Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*, Faden, *Map of S. C.*, Haig, *Map of the Cherokee Country*, DeBrahm, *Map of S. C.*, P, II, 493, XXA, 458; see "New Windsor" in index to Plats. No plat of the township has been found.

⁵ See JC, Mar. 31, 1737, Mereness, *Travels*, p. 222. Compare the following names in Plats index and in SCG advertisements: Summers (Mar. 26, 1737), O'Brien and Roche (Nov. 5, 1737), Vaughan (Nov. 9, 1738), Smith (June 23, 1739), Motte and McGillivray (Aug. 25, 1739), and note mention of Duche in letter to editor, July 25, 1748. See also surveys for Campbell and Brown, who were concerned in the trade (below, pp. 69, 70).

ning." On this stream at the crossing of the path from Fort Moore to Charleston, "a publick house was kept by one Sullivan."⁶

The rank and file of the Switzers, quietly devoting themselves to their lands, almost disappear from the records of early New Windsor. In a township of limited agricultural possibilities farming offered scant opportunity for achieving wealth or notoriety. On their first arrival Tobler and his own group had planned a harmonious community, which should admit newcomers only on approval of the majority, but the elements of population in the Savannah Town settlement made this hope as futile as their expectation of large accessions of their countrymen.⁷

A tract of six hundred and fifty acres was surveyed for John Tobler—"Landschampton Tobler" he was sometimes called in recognition of his former title of Landeshauptman—in a great bend of the river even then called "Beach" or Beech Island.⁸ Here a short distance from the edge of the swamp Tobler built his house, and adjoining his land surveys were later made for John Tobler, Junior, and Dr. John Jacob Sturzenegger. When Tobler established his store does not appear, but from 1744 to 1765 there are occasional references to it, chiefly in connection with the Indian trade. Apparently his son William was in charge of it at the beginning, but later another son, Ulric, who was also a deputy surveyor and justice of the peace, was partner. At the father's death the debts due the store amounted to nearly twelve hundred pounds.⁹

John Tobler announced in the *South Carolina Gazette* in 1744 that he had invented a machine for cleaning rice, which with the labor of three negroes would clean three barrels a day. The invention is not mentioned again but in another enterprise the versatile Switzer met with more success. In the *Gazette* of December 18, 1749, the printer announced that on the 23d he would publish an almanac for the year 1750 "calculated for this Province by John Tobler, a Philomath of New Windsor." The first reference to actual publication, however, was the announcement in December 1751 of Tobler's almanac for 1752 which contained "the Luna-

⁶ David Douglas—moved from New Windsor to Augusta (JC, Apr. 11, 1746, *SCG*, Aug. 17, 1747, his advt.), John McQueen, Charleston merchant, with heavy investments in Indian Trade (JC, Sept. 18, 1755, Aug. 13, 1759), Daniel Clark, former associate of Patrick Brown (*SCG*, Aug. 28, 1755, his advt.); the three plats were surveyed in 1757 a short distance above Horse Creek (P, VI, 356-357, 363), evidently from land of the former Chickasaw reservation (below, p. 71). For Dick see PR, XXI, 99 (Signatures to Williamsburg petition, see below, p. 81), JC, Dec. 8, 1752; for Sullivan see Indian Books, III, 116 (below, p. 205, n. 70).

⁷ "Tobler Manuscripts", pp. 85-86.

⁸ JC, Mar. 1, May 24, 1744, P, VII, 278, Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*, makes an island of the east bank from Fort Moore nearly to Silver Bluff. The name evidently came from the number of "beach" trees in the area. There are eleven in the lines of a nearby plat (P, V, 285).

⁹ P, VI, 90, VII, 278; JC, Mar. 1, 1744; Indian Books, VI, 14-15, 123; *SCG*, May 12, 1759, June 8, 1765 (advts. of Ulric Tobler and Sturzenegger); Inventories, 1763-1767, pp. 265-267.

tions and Eclipses," advice about bleeding, "some diverting epigrams," a garden calendar by a lady of the province, and a description of the roads in the southern colonies. With the possible exception of three years *The South-Carolina Almanack*, with Tobler's calculations, was published yearly until his death in 1765, after which his son John seems to have continued the work, with some interruptions, until 1790. When the elder John Tobler died he left eighty-three pounds cash, nearly two thousand pounds due him in bonds and mortgages, two negroes, two pictures valued at twenty-five shillings, a "Chamber Organ", a flute, a clock and a number of German books valued at twenty-one pounds.¹⁰

The Indian trade determined the ups and downs of New Windsor's turbulent economic and social life. The traders were most of the time in the Indian country, but returned regularly to Savannah Town or Augusta, while the storekeepers or caretakers were residents throughout the year. Of the principal traders by far the most important was Patrick Brown, formerly of the Congarees, who in 1741 entered the western trading firm of Archibald McGillivray and Company. With the retirement of McGillivray and Wood, Brown became the most important trader in either province. He had land in New Windsor, but if he lived there at all it was for a short time, and in 1743 he was in Augusta where he maintained his store. In 1748 he was granted by the Georgia government five hundred acres thirty miles below Augusta on his promise to carry on there "a large Indigo Work." At his death in 1755 he was head of the firms of Brown, Rae and Company and Patrick Brown and Company, besides doing business in his own name. He had through these firms a near monopoly of the western trade, which through him went to Charleston. Unlike the other chief traders he had little interest in imperial schemes, or perhaps thought that the empire was best served by ceaseless application to business, peace with the Indians, and abstention from colonial politics.¹¹

One of Brown's associates was George Galphin, who appears in the Creek trade in 1744. In 1747 it was stated that he had bought four hundred acres, surveyed in 1737, from the McGillivray company. The tract lay immediately south of Town Creek and so included part of Silver Bluff, where he established his home. He was granted two thousand acres by the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; *SCG*, Apr. 30, 1744; *JC*, Apr. 18, 1744; *JCHA*, Dec. 15, 1743. Notice of Tobler's death is found in Urlsperger, *Nachrichten*, VII, pt. 4, 35. His daughter married John Joachim Zubly (*ibid.*, p. 135). See list of Tobler almanacs in *SCHGM*, XV, 73-81; those for 1756, 1757 and 1758 were printed by Christopher Sower in Germantown, Pennsylvania, who also printed a Tobler *Pennsylvania Almanack*—see Charles Evans, *American Bibliography*, III (Chicago, 1905), p. 242; in addition they are advertised as published or forthcoming, for the years 1754, 1759, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1767 (*SCG*, Oct. 29, 1753, Mar. 17, 1759, Dec. 23, 1760, Jan. 16, 1762, Nov. 20, 1762, *SCAGG*, Nov. 28, 1766).

¹¹ Adair, *American Indians*, p. 325; *JCHA*, Apr. 30, 1740, Jan. 19, 25, 1742; *SCG*, Aug. 29, Sept. 26, 1741, July 9, 1744, Aug. 28, 1755 (advt. of Daniel Clark), Apr. 28, 1757 (advt. of William Pinckney); *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, VI, 225; Henry Laurens, Letter Books, MS, July 4, 1755.

South Carolina government, and in receiving other grants from Georgia he declared in 1757 that he had forty negroes. From 1750 to the Revolution Silver Bluff was a place of some note; Henry Laurens wrote Galphin in 1770 thanking him "very heartily for your politeness & civilities when I was lately at your Hospitable Castle".¹² Several other traders had plantations or cowpens near Fort Moore. On Alexander Wood's death in 1757 his executor advertised for sale at Point Comfort, at the mouth of Upper Three Runs below Silver Bluff, three hundred horses, six hundred head of cattle and a stock of hogs. Ten negro and Indian slaves were part of the estate.¹³

Most of the Indian trading stores were moved to Augusta during the 'forties, but in 1749 Jeremiah Knott still describes himself as storekeeper of New Windsor. Isaac Motte, a sometime trader, lived there until his death about 1753. The store of Samuel and George Eveleigh, the most noted of the Charleston firms interested in the trade, was early in 1741 in charge of Martin Campbell, but in 1744 was kept by John Fallowfield, at that time justice of the peace. At his death in 1751 Fallowfield had a store here in his own name, and his personal property included decanters, drinking glasses, plates, a teakettle, two teapots, a spit, a chocolate pot, a coffee mill, three brass candlesticks, eight chairs, three tables, a bureau, a writing desk, a couch and mattress, a featherbed, bolster and pillows, a hat and wig, a black coat, a pair of black plush breeches, a fustian coat and pair of breeches and a large looking glass. He had two negroes, fourteen goats, and six sheep. The goods in the store and his personal property together amounted to two hundred pounds.¹⁴

In their own persons as well as through their trade the Indians were a potent influence on New Windsor and Augusta. They were constantly passing on their way to Charleston to see the governor and the town and to receive presents. Furthermore, as early as 1725 there were a number of Chickasaws, a rather disorderly group of wanderers from the distant tribe, living near Fort Moore. About 1738, when settlement of whites in New Windsor practically ceased, the provincial government invited the entire Chickasaw nation, for the sake of mutual protection, to move to its borders. Most of them refused the offer, declaring "their Resolution to maintain themselves on that Spot of Ground, where their fore Fathers had kindled their Fires & laid their Bones for so many Generations." However, there

¹² See JC, Jan. 20, 1744, Nov. 11, 1747, Nov. 10, 1761, June 21, 1765; Indian Books, II, 2, P, IV, 347; Laurens, Letter Books, Jan. 2, 1770. The company referred to in *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, VI, 333 is evidently Brown's organization; see also *ibid.*, pp. 331, 673.

¹³ *SCG*, Apr. 28, 1757 (advt. of William Pinckney); P, VI, 156, Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*; see also *SCG*, June 7, 1740, Feb. 5, 1741 (John Craig), JC, Oct. 8, 1742, JCHA, Dec. 15, 1736—deposition of McMullen (William McMullen).

¹⁴ JCHA, May 8, 1749, May 28, 1751; *SCG*, Aug. 6, 1753; JC, Mar. 1, Sept. 8, 1744; Inventories, 1751-1753, pp. 469-471. On Eveleigh see Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 121-122.

were two groups of Chickasaws near New Windsor in 1748—one body of twenty men with their families within three miles of the fort, and seventy more under their chief the Squirrel King ten miles away on Horse Creek. A tract of 21,774 acres was surveyed and reserved for them. These Indian settlers were often a nuisance, sometimes a real danger to their white neighbors—"pilfering thieving dogs" George Haig called them, but Haig was a Catawba trader, and the Squirrel declared "that his People do not quarrel with the white People but when they are Drunk."¹⁵

In 1742 the Squirrel and his warriors, under the command of Captain William Gray, aided in the repulse of a Spanish attack on Frederica, the southern outpost of Georgia—and according to one of their champions, they saved the day. Lieutenant-Governor Bull ordered the commander of Fort Moore to hoist the colors and entertain them royally whenever they came to the fort, and the Commons House remembered the old chief long and gratefully. Governor Glen gave them little countenance, however, and about 1755 they moved for a time to a place a few miles below Augusta, called New Savannah. They later returned to South Carolina. William Gray was formerly a Creek trader, but about 1740 settled near Fort Moore where he stayed for fifteen years, apparently engaged in planting.¹⁶

Fort Moore was maintained by the province until the Cherokee War, the garrison ranging from ten to about twenty-five men. The most interesting of its commanders was Daniel Pepper whose service extended from 1737 to 1745. The conduct of the New Windsor settlers undoubtedly left much to be desired—the situation being in no way improved by a tacit exemption from prosecution for debt—and with more zeal than discretion Pepper used his commission as justice of the peace to attempt a reform of the community. Seizure of traders who had failed to pay their Charleston debts caused an exodus to Augusta, whereon the indignant remainder, among them Martin Campbell, Jeremiah Knott, and William Tobler, planned Pepper's undoing. With Campbell presiding over a two gallon bowl of punch several affidavits were secured, which were later repudiated by the repentant signers, one of whom sagely observed "When the liquor is in, the wit is out." But to other charges—that he had slandered Robert Vaughan's wife and put him in the stocks for resenting it, and without trial had another woman ducked "so often that her life was in danger"—the captain could only say that he himself was drunk when he put Vaughan in the stocks, and that the victim of the ducking was

¹⁵ Mereness, *Travels*, pp. 168-172; JC, May 14, 1731, Mar. 27, 1746, Mar. 29, 1748; JCHA, Mar. 26, 1743, May 21, 1747, Mar. 27, 1765; JUHA, Jan. 26, 1739. See Crane, *Southern Frontier*, p. 273, *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, IV, 47, Adair, *American Indians*, p. 224.

¹⁶ Indian Books, VI, 17; below, p. 189; Jones, *History of Ga.* I, 357; JCHA, May 21, 1747, June 8, 1748, May 16, 1755 (tax estimate), Mar. 27, 1765; JC, Apr. 27, 1748, July 12, 1751; PR, XIX, 126 (Deposition of John and William Gray, Jan. 16, 1727, enclosed by Bull to Board May 25, 1738).

a woman of ill fame. Pepper was deprived of his commission as magistrate but he was complimented for his record as commander and for his arrest of the delinquent debtors.¹⁷

Others beside Pepper tried to reform New Windsor, although by somewhat different methods. The rector of St. Bartholomew's paid a visit to Savannah Town and preached before the arrival of the Swiss. He baptized ten children, five of them being of Indian mothers. John Tobler himself used to read aloud to his Swiss neighbors extracts from German sermons; in asking his friend, one of the Ebenezer pastors, for other books of sermons he stipulated that they be not too short. He and several other Switzers earnestly begged the provincial government for a school and pastor in the hope not only of putting a stop to the ungodliness prevalent in the township, but also of encouraging the settlement of foreign Protestants. The subject was doubtless very near the heart of the former governor, for John Tobler, Junior, though he had the education requisite for carrying on his father's almanac, was in 1762 deprived of his commission as justice of the peace because of his irregular course of life. Between 1751 and 1753 the missionary at Augusta of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel preached nine sermons in the township, and on petition of the inhabitants the assembly provided for monthly sermons by him at about thirty shillings apiece. In 1766 it was reported that he had done so for several years "very much to the Edification and Improvement" of the people.¹⁸

A New Windsor petition in 1754, regarding the ferry over the Savannah River, was signed by about fifty-five persons. The militia company two years later consisted of sixty-six men, and there were listed with them thirty-nine male slaves from sixteen to sixty.¹⁹ This company, however, included others beside settlers of the township, and it is improbable that the white population was over three hundred. New Windsor was thus the most thinly settled of the townships, and though it had several leaders of some distinction, it was not strong enough to play a great part in either the defense or the development of the frontier. Its backwardness, however, was due to conditions beyond the control of the government. Despite its weakness in white settlers, it was able to give substantial assistance to the two forts and to the Chickasaws in defense of the western entrance to the province.

¹⁷ JCHA, Apr. 25, 1735, Mar. 26, 30, 31, 1743, May 2, 15, 16, 1745; JC, Oct. 5, 1737, Mar. 1, 1744, July 30, 1745. Pepper came from Dorchester, and retired, at the end of his service, to James Island (SCG, Sept. 7, 1734, JCHA, Dec. 14, 1747). He maintained a store at the fort, a cowpen on Horse Creek, and a ferry over the river (JC, Mar. 1, 1744). The petition refers to an act granting immunity to debtors—probably the one of 1721 (see above, p. 11).

¹⁸ Dalcho, *Episcopal Church*, p. 368; Samuel Urlsperger, *Nachrichten (Americanisches Ackerwerk Gottes*, 4 parts, Augsburg, 1754-1767), pt. 2, 317, pt. 4, 135; JC, Nov. 29, 1744, Jan. 21, 1745, May 23, 1760, Dec. 28, 1762; JCHA, Feb. 1, 1754, Mar. 6, 1766.

¹⁹ JUHA, Feb. 6, 1754, JCHA, Feb. 8, 1754, JC, May 4, 1757.

In 1729 the southwest was the weakest point in the South Carolina line of defense, and at that time the assembly was maintaining for its protection the fort at the Pallachuccolas and a troop of rangers with headquarters on the Salkehatchie.²⁰ Conditions here encouraged the growth of plantations on the coast, but hindered settlement in the interior. Up the Combahee and Savannah Rivers and the waters of Port Royal Sound the tides run for thirty miles, and these streams with their numerous tidal creeks and inlets and the inland passage to Charleston afforded unusually easy transportation. In the thousand small fresh-water swamps draining into these waterways was a large area for the cultivation of rice. The land and slave boom of the 'thirties perhaps reached its height here.

Beyond the tides, however, the swamps contract and as far as Kings Creek, forty miles above, the land becomes typical of the lower pine belt, with stretches of fine compact sand—so level that only extensive ditching could make it profitable for crops—alternating with soil somewhat looser in structure, better drained and much more desirable. The land rush overflowed into this region and before 1740 fifty thousand acres had been taken up, chiefly on the Savannah about the Pallachuccolas, where was surveyed a tract of twelve thousand acres for Purry, and on the forks of the Salkehatchie, on the eastern branch of which a similar survey was made. From point to point up the Savannah were smaller tracts: Arthur Middleton had two thousand acres laid off at the mouth of Kings Creek; there was another of eight hundred acres at the mouth of Briar Creek; and a third, a thousand acres in area, at the mouth of the Lower or Old Three Runs.²¹

The presence of a hundred or two Uchees in this section added little to its attractions, although they, like the New Windsor Chickasaws, were often useful. Most of the tribe lived a few miles below Silver Bluff, but they roamed the entire area west of the Salkehatchie. As late as 1737 there were some Creeks about the Pallachuccolas and Kings Creek, who like the other settlement Indians were called upon in emergency. But in 1732 a planter complained "that some Creek Indians who for some years have resided in the Settlements, had been at his Cowpen & drove away his overseer and Slaves Robed his House destroyed his Corn and broke down his Fences, & committed many Insolencies."²² An order was given for the pursuit and destruction of these Indians, but they probably escaped severe punishment. These depredations were hardly as alarming to the settlers as

²⁰ *Stats.*, III, 213, 244, 263, 335, JCHA, Mar. 9, 29, Apr. 4, 5, 1734. The Pallachuccola fort appears on a plat (P, I, 196).

²¹ Bureau of Soils, Hampton; plat for John Roberts (state archives); P, I, between pp. 318 and 319, II, 392, 437, 439.

²² On the Uchees, see JUHA, Mar. 19, 1737; JC, Apr. 14, 1743, June 15, 1751, Apr. 4, 1761; *SCG*, Oct. 28, 1732, Oct. 2, 1749 (advt. of Hugh Bryan); Mereness, *Travels*, pp. 218, 222. For the Creeks, see JUHA, Mar. 19, 1737, July 2, 1744; JC, Aug. 30, 1732.

the attacks made upon the Indians themselves by their own enemies. As late as 1751 a party of northern Indians traversed the region quite to the coast and there slew or captured five Uchees. About this time at Silver Bluff the Uchees lost thirty-five of their women and children in the same manner, but turned the tables on the invaders and killed nearly all of them. Most of these settlement Indians went to the Creeks about 1750, and by 1761 the rest of them appear to have followed.²³

After 1740 large grants in this region ceased for a time. During the next twenty years a score of men of English name had warrants or surveys here for tracts of five hundred acres or less, chiefly on the Salkehatchie. One of these plats, in the fork of the river, shows "Indigo vats" near a house. An advertisement of a larger holding in 1760 gives an unusually complete description of an indigo plantation. It consisted of one thousand acres on Buckhead Swamp, a branch of the east fork of the Salkehatchie; one hundred acres of the higher land had been planted with indigo in 1758 and fifty more the next year—all of it under good fence; more than one-third of the tract was good swamp for rice, a hundred acres having been cleared; there were "eleven setts of wedged indigo vats", together with a large quantity of rice, corn feed and some hogs. The plantation had been in the hands of an overseer.²⁴

The northern half of this district lay in the upper pine belt, the swamps becoming smaller as the sand hills near New Windsor were approached, the sand becoming less compact, and the soil usually better drained. Here about twenty small landholders settled by 1760, most of them on the Upper Three Runs or on Steel Creek, but several were on the Lower Three Runs.²⁵ Farther down, on the headwaters of the Coosawhatchie, in a slightly rolling section which is in effect an extension of the upper pine belt, a small group made their homes. Thomas Barker in 1755 had a plat surveyed on Jacksons Branch, which drained into the Salkehatchie; part of his land was the site of Jackson's "Old Cowpen". John Townsend Dade, who in 1748 was a settler in the Welsh Tract, in 1758 had a hundred and fifty acres surveyed on Duck Branch, a tributary of the Coosawhatchie. Dade and his wife were among the first members of the Coosawhatchie Baptist Church organized here in 1759—the first Baptist church to be established beyond the tidewater after those of the Peedee and Lynches

²³ JCHA, May 27, 1742; JC, May 26, 1742, May 7, June 15, July 2, 1751, Apr. 4, 1761; JUHA, June 6, 1747; Adair, *American Indians*, p. 346.

²⁴ JC, July 4, Sept. 6, 1749, July 3, Aug. 7, 1753, Oct. 21, 1755, Aug. 23, Oct. 5, 1756, Jan. 4, Sept. 6, 1757, Aug. 1, Oct. 5, Nov. 7, Dec. 5, 1758, Jan. 2, Feb. 6, 1759; P, V, 137. The advertisement was that of John Lining (*SCG*, Mar. 15, 1760).

²⁵ Bureau of Soils, Barnwell, Bamberg and Hampton; for the upper settlements see P, VI, 231, 359, VII, 133, 176, 182; for the others see P, VI, 294, 296, 304, 305.

River. The minister of this church was James Smart who first appears in the province on Lynches River. Four years after the organization of the church he had a plat surveyed on Beech Branch of Coosawhatchie. Henry Smart had land surveyed adjoining that of James and probably came with him. These and other names among the nineteen original members of the church show that it was largely an offshoot of the distant Welsh Neck Church.²⁶

In the entire region, from the Forks to the Upper Three Runs, cattle raising was evidently an important business until the Revolution. Lazarus Brown in 1758 became owner of three hundred and fifty acres on the Lower Three Runs from which he advertised in 1765 a thousand head of cattle. Brown was reputed to be the tallest man in the province—nearly seven feet. He was killed by one of his slaves who was tried and according to sentence burned alive. Robert Oswald in 1761 advertised for sale three thousand acres on the Coosawhatchie, including good corn, rice and indigo land and six hundred cattle. In 1768 a stock of two thousand head was advertised, part being in the fork and part on Buckhead Swamp, "being as good a range for cattle as any in the southern parts of the province, having a large cane swamp between them for a winter's range, and a most extensive and plentiful summer's range." And in 1771 there was offered a third of a stock of cattle and horses "ranging on *Coosawhatchie*, reckoned one of the largest Stocks and as good Cattle as any in this Province."²⁷

The continued weakness of the southwest was the chief factor in the effort of the Commons in the 'forties to work out a plan of settlement for the parishes, and in 1749 the governor and council reserved the vacant lands in a six-mile strip along the Savannah from Purrysburg to New Windsor for persons who would settle upon them. The reservation amounted to no more than did the parish settlement plans, but the renewed immigration of the foreign Protestants a few years later provided a partial solution of the problem. For lack of sufficient vacant lands near the tidewater the Germans were evidently directed to the upper part of the Salkehatchie forks, and there between 1753 and 1759 at least sixty surveys were made, amounting to over eleven thousand acres. The great majority of these were on or near Willow Swamp, Coltsons Branch or the forks of the Salkehatchie nearby. Forty or fifty miles from tidewater, they were on the edge of the upper pine belt, and had good land for the compact settlements for which the Germans in other parts of the province had shown so marked a pref-

²⁶ JC, Mar. 8, 1748, Mar. 4, 1755, P, VI, 252, XI, 411; Barker was probably from St. George Dorchester (JCHA, Mar. 16, 1756). See below, p. 145, P, VIII, 249, Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, pp. 47-48. The church has long been known as Beech Branch Baptist Church.

²⁷ P, VI, 296; see advertisements, *SCG*, June 25, 1750, Aug. 29, 1761, May 4, 1765, July 2, 1772, *SCGCJ*, Jan. 9, 1770, July 30, 1772, *SCAGG*, July 15, 1768, May 27, 1771.

erence.²⁸ Additional Germans, a score or more in number, settled in other parts of this district, on the Upper and Lower Three Runs and elsewhere, often quite apart from their countrymen.²⁹

Partly by the efforts of the provincial government, partly by the normal spread of settlement, the southwest had been settled, although by reason of the swamps which nearly surrounded the Germans in the Salkehatchie and the thinness of settlement everywhere else, the inhabitants lived in comparative isolation. The militia returns of 1757 listed no company between the head of tidewater and New Windsor, but at that time a company was formed for the Salkehatchie forks in order to include the Germans.³⁰ The total population could hardly have been six hundred, over half of it German.

²⁸ Above, p. 28, JC, Oct. 3, 4, 1749; see the surveys, P, V, 315-329, 349, VI, 32, 163, 174-175, 178, 202, 319, 324, 377, 380, 392, VII, 62, 75, 94, 198-201, 297, and note the names adjoining these plats. Among the settlers were Henry Ulmer and Conrad Preacher (V, 324, 328).

²⁹ See P, VI, 109, 136, 164, 179, 200, 256, 257, 260, 264, 268, 270, 273, 276, VII, 61, 78, 82, 100 and plats adjoining these.

³⁰ JC, May 4, 23, 1757. Note the road petitions from the Salkehatchie and Coosawhatchie settlers in 1764 and 1765; the latter built ten miles of road on their own initiative (JCHA, July 31, Aug. 7, 1764, Jan. 24, Mar. 12, 26, 29, July 19, 1765, *Stats.*, IX, 206-207).

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE
COUNTRY—THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

MAP 4
THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

CHAPTER VII

WILLIAMSBURG AND KINGSTON

The region north of the Santee, cut off by the river from Charleston and without an inland water passage to the south, in 1729 was settled only in its southern tip and was faced by neither slave nor Indian menace. The attention of the framers of the township plan had been fixed upon the southwest and upon the Protestant immigrants from the continent who were to defend it; when groups of Scotch-Irish settlers began to arrive and to claim the bounty they were, without much ado and perhaps by their own choice, assigned to the northeastern frontier.

On October 27, 1732, a ship arrived from Belfast with eighty-five passengers; the "Irish" settlers imported by James Pringle and Robert Orr, on the advice, they said, of two members of the council, were probably among the number. Neither Pringle nor Orr became settlers in the townships, and seem to have been acting merely as immigration agents. Similarly the Reverend John Baxter, Presbyterian minister at Cainhoy near Charleston, in 1737 reported that he had brought in forty-three persons from Belfast.¹

How many of the settlers thus imported went to Williamsburg, surveyed in the spring of 1732, and how much time elapsed between arrival in Charleston and settlement in the township does not appear. Supplies from the township fund were given to a group of "Irish Protestants" about the end of the year 1733. Several men of the Witherspoon connection—Gavin Witherspoon, David Wilson and William James—who are said to have reached the province in 1732, may have been among these settlers, and they were joined by others of their kin in January 1735. In 1736 a shipload arrived, the majority of whom went to Williamsburg. The experience of one of these families which came in 1734 was probably typical. They found the inhabitants in Charleston very kind, but were carried from the town to Williamsburg by sea in an open boat. It was the dead of winter and they suffered much from the weather and "the atheistical and blasphemous mouths of our Patroons and the other hands." On arrival at the township the settlers put up temporary huts of poles covered with earth, while they made a beginning of clearing and planting the land. There was comparatively little sickness, and although the Indians hunted

¹ *SCG*, Oct. 28, 1732; *JCHA*, Feb. 22, 28, 1733; *JC*, Nov. 9, 10, 1732, Jan. 17, May 9, 1733, Feb. 27, 1736, July 5, 1737. For Baxter see Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, I, 204, 255-256, 284-285.

in the region during the spring season "in great numbers in all places like the Egyptian locusts," they gave no serious trouble. From the corn crop of 1734 the settlers had five hundred bushels beyond their needs.²

The township selected lay on the Black River, a few miles above tidewater. The King's Tree on a bluff of the eastern bank was taken as the starting point for the survey of the town and the center of the township. Unfortunately the reserve was not surveyed until 1736, although the order was given two years earlier. The 198,023 acres was typical of the lower pine belt, with many swamps, and large areas beside so poorly drained as to have been ill adapted for anything but cattle raising. There were likewise some stretches of coarse sand that were nearly barren, but much remained that was good land and the township had the advantage of a river that was navigable for small boats.³

So closely did the townships hedge in the settled area that the administration was subjected to heavy pressure from the expanding planter interests, and in October 1735 the lieutenant-governor and council frankly threw open the townships east of the Santee to the planters by adopting a rule that no inhabitant of South Carolina might have a warrant in the townships west of that river.⁴ The effect of this action, combined with the delay in surveying the Williamsburg reserve, was disastrous. In 1734 surveys of about four thousand acres in Williamsburg can be accounted for, and four-fifths of the grantees were evidently settlers, but in 1735 one-third of the total acreage of about nineteen thousand was for persons who could not have intended to settle in the township. The average size of these tracts was nearly five hundred and fifty acres, while that of the settlers was three hundred. A fourth of the total acreage of the years 1734-1737 can be satisfactorily identified as that of bona-fide settlers of Williamsburg, representing about three hundred and fifteen persons. Half of the land taken up was evidently for non-residents. The status of the remaining fourth is doubtful, but the majority of the applicants appear to have been inhabitants rather than outsiders. There were besides thirty-eight men mentioned in the years 1734 to 1759 for whom no land record appears, sixteen of them in a petition of 1748.⁵ The total population at the end of the settlement period was probably five hundred.

The Williamsburg Scots evidently hoped to have the entire township

² PR, XVII, 339 (above, p. 55, n. 6); J. G. Wardlaw, *Genealogy of the Witherspoon Family* (Yorkville, 1910), pp. 8-11; JC, Feb. 25, Mar. 3, Nov. 13, 1736.

³ Plats of Williamsburg town and township (state archives), Bennett, *Soils of the Southern States*, p. 55 and map; Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, *Soil Survey of Williamsburg County* . . . (Washington, 1931). The "King's Tree" was probably a Walter's pine (see W. C. Coker and H. R. Totten, *Trees of the Southeastern States*—Chapel Hill, 1934—pp. 27-29), which resembles the white pine reserved for the crown in the grants of land.

⁴ JC, Oct. 17, 1735. See also Feb. 26, 1736.

⁵ JUHA, May 3, 1748.

to themselves, and to choose their lands from its whole area. Instead—as they declared in angry protests, first to the governor and council, then in 1743 to the royal commissioner for inspecting land grants—the deputy surveyor had forced them to take consecutive tracts, while “all the good Lands . . . [were] taken up by Gentlemen resideing in other parts of the Province.” They further declared that many of the “near sixty families who came last over” were forced to go elsewhere. While there was much justification for this complaint there was also some exaggeration in it, for there were many thousands of good acres left in the township. Furthermore, while the surveys were concentrated about the King’s Tree and Black River, there were many away from river and town, with frequent intervals between plats, which indicate that settlers had their choice of land. The tracts of the outsiders were similarly distributed, and because of their greater size often included land which was not practicable for the Scots. For instance, John Cleland’s five hundred acres lay entirely in the swamp opposite the town, and Andrew Rutledge’s thousand was half swamp.⁶ These outsiders were South Carolina officials, planters, Charleston lawyers, merchants and tradesmen. The lands were probably taken up for planting or investment rather than speculation for speedy sale, for only about five thousand acres of Williamsburg land was advertized for sale in the *Gazette* in the next fifteen years.

James Aiken, a planter south of the Santee, had five hundred acres granted to him in 1735. When the township was surveyed and his tract was found to be in it, the obliging Broughton administration gave him a special grant for it and for the adjoining tract which he had bought. Thomas and Alexander McCree and two other Scots arriving in 1736 were then settled upon this land by the deputy surveyor. The McCrees refused to move even after they had lost a suit for damages brought against them in 1740. Four years later they again petitioned the governor and council for the land, but thereafter gave up a struggle which was patently hopeless from the start. There was more justification for the grant of a thousand acres to George Hunter on which six Williamsburgers had been placed by the deputy, and on which they had cleared six acres and built huts. Hunter showed that his survey had been made in 1728 and that he had paid taxes on it since.⁷

With the year 1737 warrants and surveys in Williamsburg come almost to a stop. In the next eight years between five and six thousand acres was granted, and from 1746 to 1759 about twelve thousand. Three-fourths or more of this was for residents. For fifteen years of this time there was no

⁶ PR, XXI, 93–105 (Representation to Henry McCulloh, Jan. 19, 1743, enclosed by him to Board, Mar. 19, 1743), P, II, 157, III, 261.

⁷ Grants, MS, I, 372, P, I, 483; Court Records, Charleston, Common Pleas, Nov. 1740, Akin *vs.* McCrea; JC, Oct. 1, Nov. 13, Dec. 2, 18, 1736, Jan. 14, 1743, Jan. 14, 1744; see also Mar. 16, 1745.

migration of bounty settlers from Ireland to South Carolina. This may be accounted for, in part, by the dissatisfaction of the Williamsburgers with their treatment, but it was apparently due also to an unwillingness to settle in the low country; when immigration began again after 1760, although much of the upper pine belt was still vacant, the Scotch-Irish studiously avoided it. Such reports as that of "the Great Sickness" of 1750, which "put us all into so great Confusion, that no business was minded" were not calculated to encourage the prospective settler. There were other obstacles; the local authorities in Ireland put difficulties in the way of emigration, and the Spanish and French wars from 1739 to 1748 interfered with shipping.⁸

With corn the Williamsburgers made at least an excellent beginning. The cattle raising industry preceded them to the township, for in February 1735 William James and three others protested that "sevl. People had settled Cow Pens and kept large stocks of Cattle in the said Township, which consumed the Herbage." The council at once ordered all cattle removed save those of the landowners of the township. In 1743 James' own cowpen is mentioned in an advertisement. That rice was an ordinary crop of the township is indicated by a petition of James Gamble in 1743 in which he asked for another tract of land, declaring that the two hundred and fifty acres assigned him in 1734 was "so Extreemly barren" that three of his best crops did not exceed ten bushels of rough rice.⁹

Hemp and flax were among the many products that the South Carolina leaders wished to introduce among the planters, and during 1733 and 1734 Richard Hall was employed by the assembly to this end; but the seed arrived too late to plant, and the death of Governor Johnson removed his "only pillar". Hall had surveys of two thousand acres in Williamsburg, and now turned his attention to the township, where he found the land good. The settlers accepted his advice and assistance and "resolved to follow sowing Hemp." In 1736 the assembly offered a bounty for flax and doubled an existing premium on hemp.¹⁰

Shortly after this references to Hall cease, but in 1740 William Lowry from Williamsburg laid before the lieutenant-governor in council "the first Piece of Holland made in this Province," and was given three pounds

⁸ JC, Nov. 6, 1751, *SCG*, Aug. 21, 1736, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXI, 485-487; "We have Letters from our Friends in Ireland Acquainting us of their desire of coming here, if we would in any shape encourage them, which we have hitherto declind, because of the Lands being run and possessed by others." (PR, XXI, 98—see n. 6 above).

⁹ JC, Feb. 12, 1735, Nov. 9, 1743, *SCG*, Oct. 3, 1743 (advt. of John Basnett).

¹⁰ See *SCG*, Jan. 15, 1732 (letter of Agricola), May 18, 1734 (advt. of Hall); PR, XV, 87 (Johnson to Board, received Jan. 26, 1732), XVII, 174-193 (Same, Nov. 9, 1734, with enclosure, pp. 160-173), 313-315 (Hall, May 8, 1735, received by Board June 25, 1735); JCHA, Jan. 20, 25, 26, Mar. 12, 1733, May 28, Nov. 15, 1734; JUHA, May 18, 23, 1734; *Stats.*, III, 184, 436-437, VII, 489; P, II, 313, 334, 337, III, 483.

from the township fund. In 1743 Janet, wife of John Fleming, brought in twenty-four yards of fine white holland, the flax having been grown on Fleming's plantation, spun by Janet, and woven by David Witherspoon. She was given seven pounds. The next year she appeared with more linen, and with her James McClellan, likewise of the township, who produced twenty-one yards. No more gratuities were given, but in 1749 Governor Glen said that a few linens were used in the province, made in Williamsburg. In 1748 John Dobell, a former Georgia schoolmaster, wrote from Charleston a somewhat exaggerated account of Williamsburg industry. He stated that Williamsburg and Orangeburg were both flourishing, particularly the former, "by whose Ingenious Industry our Market is often supply'd with abundance of Barrelled Butter and Flour inferior to none in the Northern Provinces and very little so to any in England; with Cheese Tallow Bacon etc. Not to mention Linnen Cloth which they make in that perfection that our Governor has deign'd to wear it in Shirts himself".¹¹

It was indigo, however, that brought wealth to Williamsburg. The loose, dry and moderately rich soil demanded by the crop was to be found at many points in the township, as in other parts of the lower pine belt, and in June 1755 Henry Laurens wrote: "We shall have a great deal offerd to us from such Persons as deal with us for Slaves from Williamsburgh Township which affords in general the best Indigo." Accordingly one finds in the militia census of 1757 one hundred and fifty-five male slaves from sixteen to sixty years of age listed from Williamsburg, indicating a total for the township of over six hundred. About fifty slaves are found in the land petitions of the actual inhabitants between 1744 and 1755; doubtless there were many besides. Laurens' letters show that buyers came in person from the township, and it is thus probable that men who had themselves been bounty immigrants in 1735-1736 were among those who "went to collaring each other & would have come to blows had it not been prevented" in contending for the best slaves.¹²

However, the absentees who still held the land taken up in 1736 and 1737 were in position to profit by the new crop, and probably owned many of the negroes. Indigo did not require so much labor as rice, but called for heavy expenditures for vats, and required skilled supervision. Where the work was undertaken by outsiders it must have been in the charge of overseers, for the Williamsburgers continued to monopolize the public offices,¹³ as they could not have done had any considerable number

¹¹ JCHA, Mar. 1, 1737; SCG, July 5, 1740; JC, Nov. 12, 1743, Nov. 30, 1744; PR, XXIII, 362-363 (Answers of Glen to Board, July 19, 1749, incorrectly given in Carroll, *Collections*, II, 229, as Williamsburg, Virginia); *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, XXV, 281. For Dobell, see also *ibid.*, pp. 15-19.

¹² Carroll, *Collections*, II, 203-204, U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York, 1918), pp. 91-92, Laurens, Letter Books, June 30, July 2, 31, 1755.

¹³ See, for instance, the militia officers (JC, May 4, 1757), *Stats.*, IX, 149, VII, 503. See also William W. Boddie, *History of Williamsburg* (Columbia, 1923).

of well-to-do Anglican planters established themselves in the township in person.

Transportation was not a grave problem for Williamsburg. In 1734 a boat carried the goods of the Witherspoons up to Kingstree, and in 1737 Robert Finley received two hundred bushels of corn from the provincial government as a gratuity for his clearing the river for large boats up to the town. The river was regularly used, and acts were passed providing for clearing it to the northern boundary of the township at the expense of the inhabitants. A bridge over the Black at Kingstree, built by Roger Gibson in 1740, and Murray's Ferry over the Santee, established by the assembly the next year, gave the settlers access to Charleston by land.¹⁴

Not many seem to have taken the "town" seriously before the Revolution. However, in 1740 Hugh Campbell, "late of Williamsburgh . . . Storekeeper" was sued by a Charleston merchant for twenty-two pounds. John Bassnett, who evidently went from Charleston with the first settlers, was in 1744 captain of the militia and justice of the peace. He was both planter and storekeeper. Against him in his role as planter, Robert Pringle got a judgment for about £1,143, which was delivered to John Rice, a Charleston butcher, for execution. But when Rice seized one of his slaves, Bassnett's wife rescued her. Bassnett himself from the window threatened to shoot the deputy and declared "that half the men in Charlestown should not be able to seize them, being so well beloved by the Inhabitants of Williamsburg, who would stand by him." Several months later, on another suit, he declared himself bankrupt. In 1761 he was still justice of the peace.¹⁵

The Williamsburgers constituted a social unit of unusual strength and vigor. They were bound by "their National Adherence to each other" and this was probably appreciably strengthened by their contact with the English who had taken so much of the land of their township. Furthermore, the Witherspoon, Fleming and James families, with several others, were related by blood or marriage at the time of migration. But the chief bond was the Williamsburg Presbyterian Church, organized in the third year of settlement. On the petition of William James in July 1736 to the lieutenant-governor and council, a two hundred and fifty acre plat was given in trust for the use of a dissenting minister. From Ireland they procured the Reverend Robert Herron, who served them three years. After an interval he was succeeded in 1743 by the much loved John Rae,

¹⁴ Wardlaw, *Genealogy*, p. 9; JC, May 4, 1737; JUHA, Jan. 22, 1745; JCHA, Feb. 27, 1753; *Stats.*, VII, 489-491, 503, IX, 121-124.

¹⁵ Court Records, Charleston, Common Pleas, Feb. 1740; *Register of St. Philip's*, index; JC, Apr. 26, 1735, Dec. 8, 1736, Apr. 17, 1744; *SCG*, July 30, 1744 (adv. of J. Wedderburn); *Register . . . Prince Frederick*, index. Town lots were surveyed, however—see above, n. 3, JC, Apr. 26, 1735, Feb. 27, 1736, July 1, 1737.

of the Presbytery of Dundee, Scotland, who continued their minister until his death in 1761.¹⁶

The original intent of Johnson's plan was that each township be made a parish, and, when it should have one hundred householders, send two members to the Commons House. The first move to take advantage of this understanding was made in 1739 when the Scotch dissenters petitioned the assembly to make the township into a parish "with all the Privileges &ca thereto annexed". Since parish expenses were borne almost entirely by the provincial government, the Williamsburgers may have been willing to have an Anglican church built for the privilege of representation. They may even have thought that since the number of Anglicans settlers in the parish was negligible, the church would remain unorganized. Meanwhile they voted in Prince Frederick's parish.¹⁷ The petition precipitated much discussion, and though the House authorized such a bill, it was never passed. The next parish east of the Santee was St. Mark's, formed in 1757, with its church near the mouth of the Wateree.

In 1746, during the War of the Austrian Succession, John Rae the minister presented a petition to the assembly in behalf of his congregation, saying that they were two hundred effective men, and asking a fort to secure their wives and children and enable them "to act like men in defense of their Country". In 1757, in a list of the South Carolina militia, Williamsburg had two companies, one of forty-five men, the other of eighty-four;¹⁸ the total white population in 1757 was probably about six hundred and fifty.

This estimate, indicating an actual decrease of the white population since 1746, points to two significant developments east of the Santee—a replacing of white labor by slaves, and an emigration of the increase of the whites to the less convenient but more fertile upper pine belt to the northwest. The proportion of slaves was far from dangerous, however, and from the standpoint of development of the province both the slave importation and the white emigration were quite desirable.

Williamsburg was the most successful of the townships in Governor Johnson's scheme. In the unpopular lower pine belt it continued to be a compact community in which slaves were numerous enough to bring prosperity, but not to threaten security, while the expansion of the township to the northwest was a vital factor in establishing contact between the coast and the back country. In another sense, one perhaps not foreseen by

¹⁶ PR, XXI, 103 (above, n. 6), Wardlaw, *Genealogy*, JC, July 2, 1736, Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, I, 324. There was also a glebe of 100 acres (Plat, state archives). See also J. A. Wallace, *History of Williamsburg Church* (Salisbury, 1856), pp. 22-29.

¹⁷ JCHA, Mar. 16, Apr. 4, 1739, May 2, 7, 1740; see also names in PR, XXI, 96-99, 100-105 (above, n. 6); and *Register . . . Prince Frederick*, pp. 117, 121, 129.

¹⁸ JCHA, Apr. 16, 1746, May 4, 1757.

the governor, these Scots were equally important. They were a Scotch Puritan community set down in a more easy-going English plantation province. Their high standards of conduct and education, their social compactness and their remarkable vigor were valuable aids to South Carolina progress. On the other hand, despite their quarrels with the government and the non-resident landowners, they were sufficiently adjusted to economic, social, and political conditions to make an effective unit in South Carolina life. To a conspicuous degree they served the same purpose as the French element in the older parishes.

Kingston on the Waccamaw was one of the northern townships thrown open to the inhabitants of the province by the order of the lieutenant-governor and council in 1735. It was first planned to include both banks of the Waccamaw River, but in 1733 the Commons House so earnestly urged that it be run out entirely on the north bank that the administration consented. A later House charged the failure of the township largely to this change. It is true that the additional land on the Little Peedee was poor compensation for the thirty or forty miles of the south bank of the Waccamaw, but climate, soil and grants to non-residents are more satisfactory explanations for its ill success.¹⁹

The township thus located had three sides of a square, the southwest line being for most of its course in the swamp of the Little Peedee, the northeast line lying close to and paralleling the North Carolina boundary. Ten or fifteen miles from the southern tip of the township a large creek or "lake" flowed into the Waccamaw and on the bluff at this point the site of the town was fixed.

The bulk of this great area is a plain so level that drainage is bad and much of the soil—partly for this reason and partly from its composition—was hardly practicable for settlement in a country where better and accessible land was plentiful. Near the two rivers, however, the plain falls away to the edge of the river swamp, presenting a wide strip of well drained and excellent soil. Smaller strips of the same land are to be found along the small creeks reaching back into the interior.²⁰ Thus the southern corner, between the two rivers and including the site of the proposed town, offered the best advantages—good upland soil, river swamp for rice, and water transportation.

Between four and five thousand acres was taken up in the township prior to 1736, but in that year over seventeen thousand acres appear in the records in plats, warrants or grants. A third of this was in tracts of five hundred acres or more for outsiders of the type that besieged Williams-

¹⁹ Above, p. 80; JCHA, Mar. 1, 2, 7, 1733, Feb. 9, 1734, Mar. 30, 1743; JUHA, Feb. 26, 1734; De Brahm, *Map of S. C.*, Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.* No plat of the township has been found; in 1783 "the plan" of Kingston is mentioned, and in 1801 its name was changed to Conwayborough (*Stats.*, IV, 561, V, 408).

²⁰ Bureau of Soils, Horry.

burg. The next year about fifteen thousand acres was taken up or applied for, with about the same proportion for non-residents. Thereafter for twenty years Kingston warrants and surveys ranged from one hundred to two thousand acres a year. If all the land which was not apparently for non-residents was taken up by actual settlers, the population would have been about four hundred, and this figure is in accord with the militia returns of 1757 which listed for the township a company of eighty-six men, and showed fifty-seven male slaves from sixteen to sixty. There is little but indirect evidence for the identity of these settlers. The Williamsburgers themselves declared that many of the nearly sixty families of their countrymen "who came last over" to settle in the Black River township had to go elsewhere. The establishing of a Presbyterian church in Kingston is a further indication that a number of the Scotch-Irish settled there.²¹

The Kingston settlers appear less in the colonial records than those of any other South Carolina district. It seems improbable, therefore, that many of the two hundred or more slaves of 1757 belonged to the inhabitants. However, Arthur Baxter, who started with a town lot and three hundred acres in 1737, got a warrant in 1754 for four hundred more on the headrights of eight slaves. In 1756 and 1757 he applied for warrants for three hundred and fifty additional acres. Robert Jordan recited in his petition of 1744 that the five hundred and fifty acres of his former warrant had "proved so barren, that he cannot by labour nor Industry Get a Living thereby" and asked other land instead. At the same time that he got the new warrant he was given another for one hundred and fifty for increase in his headrights. In 1755 a third warrant was given him for three hundred and fifty acres based in part on two slaves. Abraham Jordan's warrant for five hundred acres in 1755 was on the right of ten slaves. The two Jordans were captain and lieutenant respectively of the militia company in 1757. George Starrat's seven hundred and fifty acres in 1745 must have included rights for slaves, for it represented fifteen persons. Those Kingston plats which were recorded were run out chiefly on or near the Waccamaw about Kingston, with a smaller number on or near the Little Peedee opposite. How far into the interior they extended cannot be stated, but in 1751 William Ridgeway declared that he had lived some years in the upper part of the township on rented land, and now applied for a warrant for two hundred acres on Playcard Swamp. This was in the northeastern corner of the township, fifteen miles or more from Kingston.²²

From the nearly complete obscurity enfolding it the "town" of Kingston emerges for a moment in 1768 into a somewhat lurid light. The testimony of William Hunter in a murder case having been called in question, he felt

²¹ JC, Feb. 7, 1737, May 4, 1757.

²² JC, Jan. 24, 1744, Mar. 20, 1745, June 4, 1751, May 7, 1754, Mar. 4, May 7, 1755, May 4, 1756, Mar. 1, 1757.

impelled to publish in the *South Carolina Gazette* of May 2nd an affidavit he had made in January preceding. From the piazza of the house of John McDougal, justice of the peace and tavern keeper of Kingston, Hunter had seen the owner and Joseph Jordon begin a quarrel which, interlarded with many and furious oaths, proceeded to displays of horsewhip, sword, and knife; in the course of the long altercation Jordon paused to eat the victuals set before him by the negro wench of the tavern, and on McDougal's refusal to let him have punch, sent to Mrs. Wilson's for it. Presently McDougal wounded Jordon, pursued him eighty yards to a smith's shop and there killed him. Mrs. Gaddis dressed a cut in McDougal's hand, and a negro belonging to Hunter's schooner also saw part of the affair.

The Reverend John Baxter of Cainhoy occasionally preached at Waccamaw, and in 1756 William Donaldson, a newly ordained minister from the north, accepted a call to that congregation. After his death three years later the *Gazette* advertised his estate—seven hundred acres on the river, ten slaves, and the year's indigo crop. Mouzon's map of 1775 shows a church at Kingston, and in 1795 Bishop Asbury preached in an old Presbyterian meeting-house then repaired for the Methodists.²³ This church could hardly have been other than a Presbyterian church founded chiefly by the Scotch-Irish settlement of Kingston, and served by Baxter and Donaldson.

²³ Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, I, 282, 594, *SCG*, Dec. 8, 1759 (adv. of Glen and Skinner).

CHAPTER VIII

QUEENSBORO AND THE WELSH TRACT

The Peedee, like the Santee and Savannah, offered the best advantages for the small farmer in its upper pine belt, which lay above Black Creek. In 1729, however, the population north of the Santee was too scanty for the government to encourage settlement at such a distance, and the Peedee township was placed on the lower course of the river in a region of many and wide swamps, ill adapted as a whole to any but large plantations. Queensboro was surveyed in 1733 and lay on both sides of the Peedee, having its "town" and center on the west bank three or four miles above the mouth of Lynches River.¹

In November of this year James Gordon, proposing to settle one hundred families in Queensboro, applied to the assembly for the same aid as that given to Purry. The Commons House refused his request on the ground that the northern townships needed no encouragement for settlement. Thereupon, in 1734, Gordon at his own expense imported twenty-seven persons whom he freed from indentures the next year when he applied for the bounty for these and for twenty-one others just arrived. The second group was from Pennsylvania as probably was the first; each settler was given a bounty of eight bushels of corn and a peck of salt. Gordon was commissioned as justice of the peace and captain of the militia for the township although he seems to have had his home in Georgetown.²

The bounty given was only a part of the usual supply, but these settlers, being neither foreign nor European, were not within the intention of the settlement program. No individual grants appear which would correspond to this migration, but Gordon himself in 1735 had surveys made in the township of eight tracts amounting to thirty-one hundred acres. The settlers may have established themselves in the township, or perhaps moved up the river with the later arrivals from Pennsylvania. As for the town, so little was it regarded that Gordon had his overseer plant the area re-

¹ JC, Mar. 10, 1732; JCHA, Sept. 20, 1733; copies of Welsh Tract and Queensboro plats (see Alexander Gregg, *History of the Old Cheraws*—Columbia, 1905—opposite pp. 45 and 49, and n. 8 below), De Brahm, *Map of S. C.* The township and its town may also be approximately located by the following plats: P, I, 512, II, 160, 172, 427.

² JCHA, Nov. 17, Dec. 6, 1733; JC, Mar. 7, 29, 1735; SCG, Mar. 8, 1740 (adv. of sale of Gordon's property). In his estimate of expenses of the province for settlement (PR, XVII, 228—above, p. 22, n. 14) Furze listed a year's allowance "to Mr. Gordon & 40 Highlanders in one of the Northern Townships" but the group cannot be identified, nor, perhaps, the statement entirely relied upon.

served for it. Meanwhile the planters were taking up the land of Queensboro. Besides Gordon's holdings there were a dozen others of a thousand acres or more, and by 1745 about sixty-five plats had been surveyed, which brought the total to nearly thirty thousand acres. The three surveys of John Hammerton, Secretary of the province, who was the chief grantee, amounted to four thousand acres.³

Even earlier than the arrival of Gordon's immigrants several men had settled on the river above the township. Malachai Murphy, a native of the province, claimed to have purchased part of a warrant for land on the Peedee about 1728. He made his home a short distance above Mars Bluff, a three or four mile stretch of high ground on the west bank of the river five miles above Jeffreys Creek.⁴ When in 1746 he applied for a warrant for the land he had so long occupied without legal title, he had twelve slaves. Gideon Gibson, who established a cowpen on the Peedee about 1732, later moved to the Little Peedee.⁵

John Thompson, Junior, lived near enough to Prince Frederick's Church on the lower Black River to serve as vestryman, but in 1735 he had a thousand acres surveyed on the point between Jeffreys Creek and the Peedee, and by the spring of 1736 several tracts for others were surveyed on the creek nearby. Thompson traded with the Cheraw Indians, who lived on the east bank of the river at the shoals and caused the vicinity to be called "the Cheraws".⁶ They hunted along the river, with some of the Peedees who probably lived with them, and claimed the land at least as far down as Mars Bluff, sometimes called "the Little Cheraws". Francis Young lived on the river opposite the Great Cheraws town, and he and Thompson later had lands surveyed there at the mouth of Thompsons Creek.⁷

In August 1736 Lieutenant-Governor Broughton and the council read and granted the petition of David Lewis, Samuel Wild and Daniel James. These men represented members of a colony of Welsh Baptists living in Newcastle County, then one of the three Lower Counties of Pennsylvania, but later part of the state of Delaware. On examination they had found the land of the Peedee valley suited to their purpose of raising "Hemp,

³ See above, p. 20, n. 9; P, II, 316, 322, 344, IV, 14-18, 20, 22-24, 39-40; JC, June 2, 1752. In 1743 five hundred acres in fifty acre tracts was advertised as formerly the property of Gordon (*SCG*, Mar. 14th).

⁴ JC, Apr. 13, 1744, Feb. 20, 1746 (the name is sometimes given as Michael); Welsh Tract plat (below, n. 8); *SCG*, Apr. 17, 1755 (adv. of Edward Jerman); Bureau of Soils, Florence (map).

⁵ JC, Nov. 12, 1747, P, IV, 510. He was probably the carpenter who came from Virginia—JCHA, July 2, 8, 1731—but the identity of the Gideon Gibsons is not clear.

⁶ See index to *Register . . . Prince Frederick* and P, III, 156, 516, IV, 5; JUHA, Jan. 26, 1738; JC, June 8, 1739; Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, p. 60.

⁷ *SCG*, Feb. 7, 1761, *SCGCJ*, Aug. 26, 1766 (advts. of Andrew Johnston and Isaac Navel); Grooms' land was on or near Mars Bluff (*SCAGG*, Mar. 18, 1768—adv. of John Murray); JC, Nov. 9, 1743; P, IV, 195, 263-264.

Flax, Wheat, Barley &c". They asked for the prospective settlers a reservation of ten thousand acres of Queensboro—the northeast portion of that township—and all the land above for eight miles on each side the river as far as the junction of its two main branches. The nearest tributary of the Peedee that could be called its main branch was Little River, seventy miles north of Queensboro and twenty miles beyond the North Carolina line as later surveyed. The South Carolina portion alone thus constituted a reservation for immigrants with which no township could compare in area of fertile and convenient land.⁸

Associated with James in the reservation for the Welsh was Maurice Lewis, a Charleston member of the Commons House who had but recently taken up surveys of fifteen hundred acres of land in Queensboro, and who called himself one of "the Welch and Pensilvanians". The records of the Welsh Tract Baptist Church in Pennsylvania state, in November 1735, that Abel Morgan, teaching elder, James James, ruling elder, Thomas Evan, deacon, Daniel James, Samuel Miles [Wilds], John Harry, John Harry, Junior, Thomas Harry, Jeremiah Rowell, Richard Barrow, Thomas Money, Nathaniel Evan, Mary James, Annie Evan, Sarah James, Mary Wilds, Elizabeth Harry, Margaret Harry, Eleanor Jenkin, Sarah Harry, Margaret William, Mary Rowell, and Sarah Barrow were removed to Carolina and were dismissed to the Baptist Church in Charleston, or permitted to form themselves into a church. But not until January 1737 is there reference in the South Carolina records to the arrival of "several" in the province.⁹ During the year 1737 the Welsh Tract Church dismissed to the Peedee settlement eight men and seven women, in 1738 John Jones and his wife, Ann, and in 1739 and 1741 several other members. With the exception of Abel Morgan, listed in the record as returned, James James who soon died, and Thomas Money, references to all the men named appear on Peedee plats within the next few years.¹⁰ In the summer of 1737 warrants were granted to several whose names do not appear in the minutes of the mother church, among them Evan Vaughan, Samuel Sarancy and Evan Davis.¹¹

⁸ *Records of the Welsh Tract Baptist Meeting . . . Delaware, 1701-1828* (Wilmington, 1904), I, 7-18; JC, Aug. 13, 1736; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, pp. 614-617. The plat finally surveyed according to these directions was not returned until January 1738 (JC, Jan. 27, 1738); it has not been found. A plat of Nov. 29, 1736, rejected by the administration, is in the state archives; it is reproduced without the signature of the surveyor in Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, opp. p. 49. For the attempts to deceive the administration into depriving the Welsh of a great part of their reservation, see JC, Feb. 18, Dec. 14, 1737, Jan. 27, 1738, July 7, 1739; SCG, Feb. 12, 1737 (proclamation).

⁹ JCHA, Feb. 1, 1738, *Register of St. Philip's*, pp. 128, 167, P, III, 375, 412, JC, Jan. 19, 1737.

¹⁰ See Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, p. 62, n. 2; P, IV, 297 (Wild), 203 (S. Parsons), 197 (J. Rowell), IV, 262 (Barrow), 302 (Ellerbe, adjoining N. Evans), 187 (Dousenal—i.e., Devonald), 189 (Evan Harry, adjoining J. Harry).

¹¹ JC, July 29, 1737. Daniel James already had received a warrant for 350 acres (JC, Dec. 9, 1736).

To each head of a family among these settlers arriving in 1737 were given six bushels of corn and a bushel of salt. Eight hundred and fifty-nine pounds was set aside from the township fund as a bounty for the first two hundred settlers over twelve years of age who should come from Wales. The reservation was extended from time to time until 1745, but there is no evidence of direct immigration from Wales, the war with Spain being given as the cause of the failure of the plan. From Pennsylvania, however, the Welsh continued to come in considerable numbers.¹²

The immigrants made little use of the lower half of their great reservation. In 1737 Thomas Evans and the widow of Samuel Wilds had their surveys made in or near Queensboro, followed in 1738 by Thomas James, Griffith John and Evan, John and David Harry. These were near the mouth of Catfish Creek. There was room for others, for none of the plats showed outsiders adjoining, but the rest of the Welsh evidently preferred land farther north.¹³

Between Black Creek and the sand hills on either side of the Cheraws the Welsh Tract included the typical soils of the upper pine belt. A short distance from the river was a light sandy loam, excellently adapted to agriculture, but next to the Peedee the land was even more fertile, convenient for water transportation, and, because of the forage in the swamp portions, better suited for cattle raising. A five mile square of this river bottom, on the east side of the river and ten miles below the Cheraws, lay nearly enclosed in a great bend of the Peedee. The soil was a rich silt loam like that of Raifords Creek, and the area less subject to the floods that afflicted it later when the valley above was cleared. Here in the "Welch Neck", before they had been a year in the province, the Welsh began their surveys, their plats fronting the river above and below the mouth of Crooked Creek. William and Abel James, Thomas Evans, James Rogers, William Terrel, Daniel Devonal and John Jones had their plats made in 1738.¹⁴ Within seven years of that date nearly a hundred plats were run out in the Welsh reservation, amounting to about twenty five thousand acres. Few of the holdings were over five hundred acres. The population of five hundred thus represented was probably half Welsh,

¹² JC, Dec. 14, 1737 (a few others may have received the bounty later—JC, June 6, 1739, Oct. 15, 1742), July 7, 1739, Jan. 26, 1743, Mar. 25, 1745. James Price, however, claimed to have come from Wales on encouragement by the province; see also William Hughes and Job Edwards (JC, Jan. 22, 1746), and note JC, Jan. 20, July 19, 1738.

¹³ P, IV, 145-146, 183-189, 297; the later claim of the Welsh that grants to South Carolinians had forced them to settle further up the river and had prevented immigration of others was evidently an excuse on which to ask an extension of the reservation—(JC, July 7, 1739).

¹⁴ Bureau of Soils, Marlboro; above, p. 59; P, IV, 187, 190-194 (Devonald's plat was stated to be in Queensboro, but later surveys—see P, IV, 394—and the index to Plats show this to be an error). The location of the Welsh Neck surveys may be worked out from the names on a later plat of Thomas James (P, XVII, 228).

all of whom lived in or near the Welsh Neck. The petitions from the west side of the river indicate that a larger number of the early settlers there came from the South Carolina coast than from Virginia or the northern colonies.

One of the first difficulties of the Welsh was with the Cheraw and Peedee Indians who by "running among their Settlements under pretence of Hunting" caused them great uneasiness. In 1739 John Thompson was called before the lieutenant-governor and council, but he denied that he had promoted "any misunderstanding between the Welch and Indians or Virginians &ca." About two years before he had bought all the lands of these Indians on the river, including about forty "old fields" as the abandoned cleared lands of the Indians were called. His expenses, including his service in quieting the apprehensions of settlers in the Welsh Tract and in Williamsburg, came to a hundred and five pounds which the provincial government undertook to pay him in return for surrender of the deed, giving him warrants for a thousand acres of land besides. Some of the Cheraws were already with the Catawbas; probably the rest of their tribe and the Peepees soon joined them.¹⁵

James James was the leading member of the Welsh group at the time of the migration. He was a justice of the peace in Pennsylvania and was the father of Abel, Daniel and Philip James. He seems to have died within a year, however, and Daniel James became justice of the peace, succeeded in turn by William James, who was likewise the first captain of the militia. Daniel James started a mill which William completed, each receiving a reward of fourteen pounds from the provincial government. John Newberry, on Muddy Creek at the lower end of the Welsh Neck, set up a grist- and sawmill and another like it was built by Gideon Ellis, who came to the Welsh Tract from the lower part of the province, and settled on the south side of the river on or near Jeffreys Creek.¹⁶ Among four other mills projected at the same time one belonged to John Kolp and one to James Gillespie, formerly of Winyaw and sometime Cherokee trader. These mills are evidence of the success of the Welsh plans for grain production. In 1743 the governor and council offered a bounty of fourteen shillings a barrel for the first twenty barrels "of good and merchantable white flower" made in the Welsh Tract and brought to the Charleston market. It was promptly claimed the next year.¹⁷

¹⁵ JC, June 8, 1739, *SCG*, June 2, 1746, Adair, *American Indians*, p. 224, Indian Books, V, 94. There were other Peepees, living near Charleston (JC, July 25, 1744).

¹⁶ Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, p. 62; JC, June 8, 1739, Jan. 26, Apr. 28, 1743, Nov. 29, 1744, Mar. 14, 1745, Feb. 8, Nov. 20, 1746; P, II, 252-253, IV, 203, 373; *Register of St. Philip's*, p. 166.

¹⁷ JC, Sept. 16, 1736, July 9, 1739, Jan. 26, 1743, Oct. 5, 1744, Mar. 22, 1745, May 29, 1750; for Kolp see JC, Jan. 14, 1746, P, IV, 241; for Gillespie see *Commissions and Instructions*, p. 186, P, II, 395-396, IV, 282. For other mills see JC, Feb. 8, Nov. 20, 1746.

When in 1747 indigo suddenly became a Carolina staple the planters in the Queensboro portion of the Peedee valley turned to it with great success. Over a thousand acres of James Gordon's land was advertised as extraordinarily good for indigo. It was probably also responsible for no small part of the prosperity of the Welsh Tract. At Mars Bluff eighteen hundred acres was offered for sale which Malachi Murphy said was good for indigo and corn. Even the settlers on the Rocky River in North Carolina made indigo and shipped it to Charleston.¹⁸

From the expiration of the reservation in 1745 until 1759 settlement proceeded apace. Nearly five hundred warrants were issued for about 115,000 acres of land on the Peedee, chiefly in the Welsh Tract. These warrants represent an addition of 2,300 persons to the five hundred earlier settlers of the region. The militia returns of 1757 listed seven Welsh Tract companies numbering 865 officers and men and 117 male slaves sixteen to sixty years of age, and indicated a population of about 4,300 whites and 500 negroes. The returns, however, list only two companies between the Welsh Tract and the Waccamaw River, and it is probable that some of the so-called Welsh Tract companies included settlers below the lines of that reservation. The population of the Welsh Tract proper was perhaps three thousand whites and three hundred negroes. The slaves were widely distributed, nearly a hundred persons owning them. As early as 1745 Thomas Ellerbe, a Virginian, had applied for warrants on head-rights of twenty-five persons, doubtless most of them slaves. George Hicks, likewise from Virginia, could boast fifteen negroes and an overseer, and Samuel Sarancy had twenty-one.¹⁹ The Welsh like the other earlier settlers had their full share in the expansion of holdings in slaves and land. There was, apparently, little shifting of population in the area.

The Peedee was unobstructed by shoals below the Cheraws, and was even navigated above as far as Rocky River. The settlers received "all their salt and heavy goods" by water from Georgetown, but sent their indigo by wagons to Charleston. The Welsh had a church rule censuring a member who should travel up or down the river on the Sabbath save in case of absolute necessity. Thus the Cheraws like the other settlements of the fall line of the rivers was in an excellent position for trade, and references from time to time show that it became the center for the neighboring middle and back country. In 1750 a Charleston firm sued Samuel Armstrong "of Cheraws . . . Trader" for a debt of one hundred pounds made in 1747. In 1760 mention was made of the stores of John Crawford

¹⁸ See *SCG* advertisements of: Alexander Fraser (Mar. 19, 1754), Provost Marshal (June 9, 1759, Nov. 20, 1762), Edward Jerman (Apr. 17, 1755), Andrew Johnston (Feb. 7, 1761), Robert Williams (Sept. 18, 1762); *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 356.

¹⁹ JC, July 5, 1742, Mar. 20, 22, May 3, 1745, Nov. 18, 1747, Nov. 5, 1751, May 4, 1757; note also John Crawford and his ten slaves near Thompsons Creek (JC, June 4, 1751, JCHA, Mar. 27, 1759, P, VI, 52).

and Christopher Gadsden, and the next year Gadsden announced the sale of all his goods and warned the public not to trust his Dutch servant who "lately attended at his stores at the *Charraws* and *George-Town*." ²⁰

The Welsh Tract paid a penalty for its prosperity and freedom from serious Indian dangers by becoming early a prey to horse thieves. In 1739 one of the petitions of the Welsh complained "That several Out Laws and Fugitives from the Colonies of Virginia and North Carolina most of whom are Mullatoes or of a mixed Blood" had thrust themselves among them, paying no taxes nor quit rents, "and are a Pest & Nuisance to the adjacent Inhabitants". A few years later seven men on the unsurveyed North Carolina boundary defied the officers of both provinces, and sent word to Captain James "to raise all his Company, swearing they were Men enough if the whole Inhabitants of the River came after them." They were part of a band of robbers sought by the Virginia government, and had, so the Welsh suspected, the sympathy of some of their neighbors. The governor, however, thought it sufficient to order James to issue a magistrate's warrant and to call out an adequate force of the militia to enforce it. In 1746 two settlers petitioned for lands elsewhere, one stating that the robbers had reduced his stock of hogs from twenty-five to six. In 1750, on recommendation of James Gillespie, the governor appointed George Hicks and John Crawford justices of the peace, for Gillespie declared that he and James were the only magistrates within a hundred miles, and some of the settlers were "Living very Riotous". Two years later Crawford himself, with about sixty others, petitioned for a county court for the district between the mouth of Lynches River and the North Carolina line, but nothing came of the request. ²¹

Another episode in the boundary controversy concerned the lands of Governor Arthur Dobbs, part of whose 200,000 acres lay on Rocky River. A colony of Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania had settled on his land, but—probably encouraged by the wording of the Welsh Tract reservation—a score of them applied to South Carolina for their grants instead of to the North Carolina governor, hoping to get their land for the cost of fees instead of paying Dobbs fifteen or twenty pounds per hundred acres. In 1755 and 1756 about seventy of these Rocky River settlers petitioned the South Carolina government for protection. They even offered to seize Dobbs' agent and surveyor and bring him to Charleston if Glen would send instructions and commissions to certain of their number as justices of the peace and militia officers. Commissions were given, and under another

²⁰ *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 357, Welsh Neck Church Book, MS, p. 4; Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, p. 85; Court Records, Common Pleas, Feb. 1750; *SCG*, Mar. 14, 1761. Gadsden's thirteen hundred acre plat in 1763 included land earlier surveyed for John Thompson, and showed a building near the mouth of Thompsons Creek (P, IV, 195, VI, 213). See JCHA, May 19, 1760, for Gadsden and Crawford stores.

²¹ JC, July 7, 1739, Mar. 25, 1745, Mar. 12, 1746, May 29, 1750; JCHA, Mar. 17, 1752; JUHA, Mar. 16, 1752, *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, IV, 760.

name the Rocky River company of fifty men was included in the South Carolina militia list of 1757. To avert violent measures, however, Glen and the council urged Governor Dobbs to allow all persons in the disputed boundary area to remain on their lands until the crown gave proper instructions. Final settlement of the dispute did not come until 1764 when the boundary was run west to the Catawba River, and after a riot in which Dobbs was threatened with violence.²²

The Welsh immigrants constituted a religious group as compact and vigorous as that which settled Williamsburg. In January 1738 fifteen of them with their wives were organized as the Peedee—later the Welsh Neck—Baptist Church. Philip James, son of James James, was dismissed from the Pennsylvania church in November 1737 and came with the first settlers; he was ordained as their minister in 1743, and served till his death in 1754. The congregation first met in the house of John Jones who used a Welsh concordance of the scriptures by Abel Morgan. In 1744 they built a church which was replaced in 1769 by another, forty-five feet by thirty. There were sixty-six members in 1759.²³

The early history of this church was far from tranquil. Declaring that it was not a church of Christ, the Reverend Robert Williams withdrew from it in 1759, his lands and slaves no doubt giving him quite enough to do. After many patient inquiries and admonitions the church excommunicated him. The congregation immediately called the Reverend Nicholas Bedgegood, an Englishman who had been partially trained for the law, and who was later associated with Whitefield in the management of the Georgia Orphan House. The conduct of the members was the subject of constant investigation. In 1760 James James was suspended for beating a neighbor. John Booth was likewise suspended for quarrelling and using profane language, and required to make public acknowledgment of repentance before he was restored. Other offenses, both lighter and graver, were inquired into and handled with fine firmness, charity and common sense.²⁴

In 1752 thirty-one settlers, among them Gideon Gibson and several of the first Welsh immigrants to Queensboro, organized a Baptist Church on Catfish Creek, and in 1758 they built a meeting house near the mouth of the stream. During the 'fifties the Welsh Neck Church established two branches, one at Mars Bluff, the other in Cashaway Neck on the east side of the river and above Mars Bluff. In 1756 the latter congregation, which had been meeting "at the Scholl house", achieved separate organization, and in its activity and influence was second only to the Welsh

²² *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, xxxii-xxxiv, 355-356, VI, 788-789, JC, Aug. 12, 1755, Jan. 7, 1756, May 4, 1757, below, p. 135.

²³ Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, pp. 62-64, 74; Welsh Neck Church Book; Abel Morgan, *Cyd-Gordiad Eyyddorawl o'r Scrythurau* . . . (Philadelphia, 1730)—John Jones' copy has notes in Welsh made after the settlement on the Peedee.

²⁴ See JC, Feb. 23, 1749, May 5, 1752, Mar. 22, 1754, Feb. 4, 1755; Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, pp. 64-67, 69; Welsh Neck Church Book, pp. 1-19.

Neck. Like that church it kept a strong but kind hand upon its errant members, requiring their attendance on Sundays and striving to keep them from excessive drinking—the latter a fault for which it became necessary to suspend one of the ministers. The Reverend Evan Pugh began his long service to this church in 1764. Among the first members were Abel and Benjamin James, Jeremiah Rowell, and Henry, John Martin and Peter Kolb. The Kolbs, too, were said to have come from Pennsylvania.²⁵

The Anglican church developed more slowly in the Welsh Tract than did the Baptist, but the settlement there of South Carolinians and Virginians provided it with possible members, and the growth of population and wealth on the Peedee made parish government necessary. The rector of Prince Frederick, John Fordyce, visited the upper Peedee in 1743. He held services at four places, and baptized twenty-nine children for his own parish and nineteen from North Carolina. He had an eye for the material as well as spiritual future of the region; in 1737 he had had a thousand acres surveyed for himself in Queensboro, and now looked enviously upon the Welsh reservation, which he found “as good land as ever was plowed and Capable of Great Improvements but ill bestowed on a people who will never answer the Intention of the Governmts Indulgence to them”. Members of even the Gibson, Wild and Evans families resorted to Fordyce for baptism or marriage, but after his death in 1751 there was a different story. That the Peedee was soon well provided with dissenting ministers was a condition which his successors had some part in bringing about. The vestry and wardens of Prince Frederick declared to the Bishop of London that their rector, the notorious Michael Smith, “did make a Tour into these remote Parts of the Parish. But He had better stay’d at home, for the Consequence has been, that thro’ his indiscreet Carriage, (We shd rather say immoral Conduct) among them, instead of bringing them over, and joining of them to the Communion of our Church, he has unhappily driven them to send for Anabaptist Teachers from Philadelphia, who dip many, and form them into Congregations; so that the regaining of them, and making them Members of the Established Chh will (we judge) be attended with great Pains, if not an impossibility.”²⁶

When St. Mark’s parish was created in 1757 its minister served the Peedee settlers three years before the church was built on the Santee. It was not until 1768 that St. David’s was formed; the church was built at Cheraw Hill. This parish extended from Lynches River to the North Carolina line, the southern boundary running northeast and crossing the

²⁵ Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, p. 83, Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, pp. 78–79, 84–90. Shortly after 1765 two other Baptist Churches appear on the Peedee, growing out of the Catfish Church (*ibid.* pp. 79, 81).

²⁶ JC, Dec. 16, 1743, P, II, 395, Dalcho, *Episcopal Church*, pp. 319–320, *Register . . . Prince Frederick*, p. 132, and Welsh names in index; see also Francis Young, Malachi Murphy, Daniel McDaniel, George Hicks, and Thomas Ellerbe.

Peedee a short distance above the mouth of Black Creek, leaving much of the Welsh Tract in Prince Frederick's.²⁷

The Welsh Tract was a happy afterthought of the administrators of the township system. In 1759 it was far the most populous part of the middle country, and, next to Williamsburg, the most prosperous. This success was due chiefly to the excellent soil, to the fact that swamps were neither large nor numerous, to the easy water transportation, and to the establishment of experienced settlers from South Carolina and other colonies. The part played by the province, though small, was important. Without the reservation and the initial bounty the Welsh would have come more slowly, probably in smaller numbers, and would have had difficulty in establishing so strong a community. On the other hand, the privileges accorded the Welsh caused little hindrance to the actual settlement of other persons. The rich Peedee basin developed Anglican and Presbyterian groups as well, contributing to the province not one, but three elements, equally vigorous and distinctive in their culture.

²⁷ JCHA, Jan. 30, 31, July 6, 1759, Apr. 17, 1760; Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, pp. 163-166, 174-175.

CHAPTER IX

FREDERICKSBURG AND THE WATEREES

From the fall line to its mouth the Wateree runs through a valley which is a duplicate of the Congaree basin. The shoals end at the mouth of Sawneys Creek and the river begins to wander through a swamp that slowly widens until it is five miles across. The upper two-thirds of this valley has the appearance of the piedmont, for the sand hills approach within a mile or two of the river, but between the hills and the swamp lie irregular strips of sandy loam and river bottom, which are as much a part of the low country as the swamp or the navigable river itself.¹

Early in the eighteenth century the Wateree Indians had their villages on both sides of the river a few miles below the falls. The first plats showed large cleared fields and an "Indian Ditch" in a great bend of the river opposite the mouth of Pinetree Creek. After the Yamasee War the Waterrees removed to the Catawbas, but continued to hunt along the stream to its mouth.² The main path to the Catawbas ran nearly north from the Congarees to the west bank of the Wateree, and followed the stream to the towns. Another crossed the sand hills from the Congarees to the Wateree villages, and joined a less used path up the eastern side of the Santee and Wateree. Above Pinetree Creek this eastern path forked, one route following the river, the other the ridge between the valleys of the Wateree and Lynches River.³

Such a gateway called for the protection of a township, although the danger was not great. For settlers there was the advantage of the Catawba trade and the fact that this was the best route from the back country of the more northern colonies. In June 1733 instructions were given for surveying the township at the mouth of the Wateree, but later the selection of the site was entrusted to the surveyor, who in February 1734 laid off Fredericksburg on the east side of the river with the mouth of Pinetree Creek as the center of its western line, and the site of the proposed town.⁴

¹ Bureau of Soils, Sumter, Richland, *Field Operations*, 1919 (Washington, 1925), Kershaw.

² Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, p. 81; JCHA, Feb. 27, 1738, Apr. 20, 1744; H. Moll, *New Map of the North Parts of America* . . . (1720), P, IV, 400, V, 27, 108. Compare Mills, *Atlas of S. C.*, Kershaw District.

³ Haig, Map of the Cherokee Country; P, IV, 118, 134, V, 353, 383, 430, VII, 252, 319, VIII, 605.

⁴ JC, June 7, Dec. 6, 1733; see copy of the plat in T. J. Kirkland and R. M. Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, Pt. I, (Columbia, 1905), opposite p. 10; see also JC, Oct. 5, 1744, and P, VIII, 343.

It is possible that the Indian trade had already tempted settlers to the spot, for in 1736 when a family was killed near Pinetree the report referred to "Neighbours" dwelling thereabout. Apparently the murder was done by the Cheraws who lived with the Catawbias, and a lieutenant and eight men were sent to range to the rear of the settlement. A year later the Waterees objected to the settlement on their lands, and their "flagrant and insolent Behaviour" caused the sending of Colonel Henry Fox as agent to bring them to terms. He was also given command of the six rangers provided. Neither this formidable force nor the threat to bring the Senecas upon them availed, and they were not quieted until, on the lieutenant-governor's suggestion, some of their headmen were invited to Charleston for a conference.⁵

The beginning of township settlement is indicated by the advertisement of the commissary-general in January 1737 for fifteen hundred bushels of corn to be delivered at Fredericksburg before September next. Probably among the prospective settlers thus provided for were Adam Strain, David Alexander, James McGowen, Hugh McCutchin, and Michael Harris, for in February of that year they were given warrants for land in the township, their tracts ranging in size from fifty to three hundred acres. It was doubtless the failure of the bounty fund which delayed the surveys, and not until ten years later, when settlers began to arrive in considerable numbers, did these men bestir themselves to secure titles to their lands. The names and the fact that some of the grants carried the ten-year exemption from quit rents given to bounty immigrants indicate that they were part of the Scotch-Irish movement which founded Williamsburg, but it is not certain that they actually settled on the Wateree. In 1737 several Switzers from John Tobler's group were assigned to Fredericksburg, but they do not appear in the township.⁶

Alexander Rattray, Gentleman, who was probably from Charleston or nearby, settled on the Wateree about 1739. He bought land, and did not apply on his own rights until 1749 when he had a wife and eight slaves. His plat was surveyed near Swift Creek in the lower part of Fredericksburg.⁷ Nine applicants for land in 1743 and 1744, among them Jeffrey Summerford a Pennsylvanian, had plats surveyed at various points on the river or the creeks in and near the township. In the latter year twelve settlers signed a petition in behalf of Charles Radcliffe's request for land

⁵ JUHA, Dec. 17, 1736, Feb. 23, 1738, Nov. 20, 1740; JCHA, Feb. 24, 25, 27, Mar. 1, 2, 1738, Feb. 17, 1741, Jan. 19, 1742.

⁶ SCG, Jan. 22, 1737 (advt. of Peter Taylor); Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, Pt. I, 68; P, IV, 461, V, 50, 204; Grants, XLII, 314, 362, 366. Adam Strain, or another of his name, was in Williamsburg in 1743 (PR, XXI, 99—above, p. 81, n. 6). For the Switzers see "Tobler Manuscripts", pp. 87–88.

⁷ SCG, Nov. 16, 1753 (advt. of Edward Richardson); SCHGM, XIII, 213; *Register of St. Philip's*, p. 172; JC, Oct. 5, 1744, Feb. 23, 1749; P, V, 50. Note also plats of William and Robert Seawright (P, IV, 512–513). Neither, however, appears in the township—see Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 112, 140.

on which to build a mill, and about twice as many a similar petition for Paul Harrelson. The names of only four of the petitioners are given, but the numbers indicate that the Wateree settlers were slower than most others in applying for warrants. Radcliffe was promised by the governor and council fourteen pounds if he completed his mill within two years. He made a dam on Sims Creek, below the township line, but appears to have gone to Georgia before he built the mill. Harrelson, however, reported in March 1745 that he had completed his mill, and was given seven pounds from the township fund.⁸

In 1746 there were four warrants for land in Fredericksburg, one of which was given to Benjamin McKennie, an immigrant from the north, who had in his household nine whites and three negroes. He selected land on the river near Sims Creek, and later added a small tract adjoining which he said would afford him a good landing. John Hope of Black River applied for land—perhaps for his son who was later a resident near Pinetree Hill—on rights including three slaves.⁹ In 1747 a warrant was given to John McConnell who had been in the province for five or six years; because of his poverty he was relieved from paying the fees. Within three years warrants were granted to Daniel McDaniel, who was from Williamsburg and had thirteen slaves, and to Bryan Rork, a bricklayer from West Jersey.¹⁰

The land below the shoals on the west side of the Wateree, despite the fact that it was hemmed in by river and sand hill, early attracted planters and small farmers from the low country and other settlers from elsewhere. From point to point as the river, winding through its wilderness, thrust an elbow towards the upland, or paralleled it for a considerable distance, there were provided inviting spots or terraces. Below the sand hills and extending several miles below and above the great "raft" of trees which choked the channel of the river ten miles from its mouth, there was a stretch with soil like that on Buckhead and Lyons Creeks of Amelia Township. Near the raft as late as 1750 there was an Indian hunting camp, probably of the Waterees.¹¹

In 1742 Joseph Hasfort, a Cherokee trader who after his retirement seems to have lived in Orangeburg, had two hundred acres surveyed a mile above the raft. Richard Singleton in 1733 applied for two warrants which were surveyed immediately above Hasfort's. This, however, was not done

⁸ JC, Oct. 5, 1743, Oct. 5, Nov. 29, 1744, Mar. 14, 15, 1745, Nov. 20, 1746, Feb. 4, Sept. 1, 1752; P, IV, 221, 436, 480, V, 125, VII, 145. For location compare also Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, Pt. I, opp. p. 69.

⁹ JC, Nov. 20, 1746, Mar. 18, 1749, Sept. 1, 1752; P, IV, 438, V, 418, *SCG*, June 30, 1746 (advt. of John Hope); *SCAGG*, July 4, 1766 (advt. of John N. Oglethorpe); for the other two warrants see JC, Nov. 20, 1746 (Anne Dugette), and Apr. 15, 1749 (John Tyler).

¹⁰ JC, May 14, Nov. 28, 1747, June 9, 1748, Jan. 24, 1749.

¹¹ See Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*, Faden, *Map of S. C.*, and P, VI, 75, 362, VII, 93, Bureau of Soils, Richland, above, p. 42.

until 1750 and the year before John Pearson laid off seven hundred acres for him on the swamp, probably some distance above, the plat showing a large cleared field, a house and two outhouses. Timothy Puckett moved to this section probably from land acquired in Amelia in 1736, and lived here for a time before he turned his attention to the valley of Stevens Creek.¹² Henry and Anne Dungworth were married in Charleston in 1748, but in 1751 it was Anne who appeared before the governor to ask for a warrant for two hundred acres on the Wateree, explaining that her husband could not come to town because of the debt in which he was involved. Since their marriage triplets had been born to them. The warrant was granted with all fees paid from the township fund. In time Henry effected a truce with the government, if not with his creditors, for two or three years later he was acting as constable.¹³ Above Singleton's land, and near the mouth of Colonels Creek, Colonel Henry Fox established himself and apparently gave his title to the creek. He had lived in South Carolina four years before his mission of 1737 to the Catawbas, and perhaps about that time made his home on the Wateree. James McGirt from the low country was living further up the river in 1741 and became in time justice of the peace.¹⁴

Twenty miles above these settlements a terrace of silt loam opposite the mouth of Pinetree Creek attracted Roger Gibson, formerly a Williamsburg planter, and Anthony Wright and his nephew Luke Gibson, who had low country connections. Their plats were surveyed in 1748 and 1749, and Gibson was appointed justice of the peace and captain of one of the Wateree militia companies. His warrant was based on the headrights of two children and eight slaves; his plat lay within a great bend of the river and included a large cleared Indian field.¹⁵ John Todd, from Pennsylvania and North Carolina, had a plat surveyed on rights which included three slaves. The ever-widening swamp below Gibson's land had little appeal save to men who could take up large tracts; here James Michie of Charleston, a member of the Commons House and a large landholder, had twenty-five hundred acres surveyed; near him there was laid out a thousand acres for James McCrellas and five hundred for John and William Scott. The

¹² JUHA, Nov. 14, 1734; JCHA, May 24 1734; Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 96, 98; JC, Jan. 23, 1748; P, V, 42, 439, VI, 145. For Puckett see P, XIX, 290, below p. 129, n. 34, and paths and adjoining names P, VI, 91, 362.

¹³ *Register of St. Philip's*, p. 189, JC, Sept. 3, 1751, P, V, 341, JCHA, Jan. 28, 1754.

¹⁴ For Fox see JC, Jan. 1, 1754; for the location see Lindsay's plat (P, V, 412) and Richardson's (P, VI, 329), the latter being Toland's advertised June 19, 1767 (*SCG*). For McGirt, see *Register of St. Philip's*, p. 163; JCHA, Feb. 25, 1741, Jan. 16, 1755; *SCG*, June 8, 1747; P, IV, 313, VI, 352; note path to McGirt's, P, VII, 363. For Fox and McGirt see also JUHA, May 8, 1754, JC, Mar. 16, 1745, May 16, 1751, May 5, 1752, Aug. 5, 1755, May 4, 1756; P, V, 452; *SCG*, Dec. 18, 1752 (advt. of McGirt).

¹⁵ Bureau of Soils, Kershaw; JC, Jan. 31, Oct. 21, 1746, Jan. 23, Mar. 10, 1748, Aug. 6, 1751; P, IV, 400, 437, 496, V, 27; JUHA, Jan. 22, 1745, May 3, 1748, JC, Jan. 24, 1749, May 13, 1751.

Scotts were early resident on the Wateree, and William Scott married the widow of McCrellas.¹⁶

During 1749 there were over sixty surveys in Fredericksburg and on the west side of the river between the falls and Colonels Creek. This was twice as many as for any year prior to the Cherokee War. Even more than in the case of the earlier warrants, these were for actual settlers. Gibson's militia company more than doubled in number from 1749 to 1751, and at the latter date his and Rattray's together had a hundred and eighty-odd men. For the time the movement spent itself, and during 1750 there were not a dozen warrants. In 1751 there was an increase, but the Indian troubles of the spring of that year alarmed the Waterees almost as much as Saluda and Ninety Six. The assembly provided for two troops of rangers; the captains, Gibson and John Fairchild of the Congarees, were instructed to trace the same route, but in opposite directions, from the Catawbias to the Congarees and Ninety Six. In eight days Gibson completed his troop of twenty-two, all but six of them represented in Wateree land records either in person or by others of their names. Rattray appeared before the governor and council and reported that his neighbors had enforced themselves; that ten families had gone to Virginia, and that many others wished to leave. He set forth the pains at which he had been to keep the people together, "using both Perswation and threats," but what favor he might have gained with the governor by this was probably lost by his blunt statement "That he apprehends if some other Method be not taken with the Cherokees the making them Presents & paying them Tribute, instead of their being Tributary to us, there will be no Living in these out parts." It soon became evident, however, that the Waterees was too far to the east to be in great danger.¹⁷

In October 1751 a small immigration of Quakers from Ireland brought Samuel Wyly and Josiah Tomlinson to the Waterees. They applied for two hundred and fifty and four hundred and fifty acres, respectively; Wyly had three servants, Tomlinson four. Early in November four others of this group, Robert Millhouse, Samuel Russell, John Wyly, and Timothy Kelly, petitioned for warrants, Millhouse having five servants and Kelly and Russell two each. Joseph Evans applied for land in 1752 affirming as a Quaker; in 1753 two other Irish Quakers, Joshua English and John Dixon, profited by the settlement act of the year before to produce Quaker certificates of sober character, and were given the bounty. The next year

¹⁶ For Todd, see JC, Jan. 24, 1749, P, V, 27 (path on Gibson's plat), 90, Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 87; for Michie see JC, Mar. 15, 1750, JCHA, May 7, 1752, P, V, 92, *SCGCJ*, Aug. 12, 1766; for McCrellas and Scott see P, IV, 399, 479, JC, Aug. 6, Sept. 3, 1751. See also John Scott's advertisement, *SCG*, Mar. 20, 1742.

¹⁷ JC, May 13, 22, 1751, Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 65, 87, below, pp. 121-123. Rattray became bankrupt in 1753; in 1767 he was living further up the valley on Rocky Creek (*SCG*, Nov. 16, 1735—advt. of Edward Richardson, JC, Mar. 5, 1754, Sept. 7, 1762, Sept. 1, 1767).

six families of Irish Protestants—apparently not Quakers, for they took the oath—were given warrants for from one to two hundred acres with bounty. They had come by way of England and Philadelphia and declared themselves much reduced by the expense of the trip. They settled on both sides of the river in or near the township. At least three other families, probably all from Ireland, received the bounty later.¹⁸

Samuel Wyly bought land above Swift Creek, opposite Friends' Neck, finding it "of great use to himself & Friends," and perhaps made his home here for a while.¹⁹ In 1752 he obtained a warrant for three hundred acres and in 1755, on the rights of six slaves, another for three hundred more. His home in 1759 was "Mount Pleasant", near Pinetree Hill which is in the lower part of the present city of Camden. By 1753 he was surveying land, and the supplies furnished by him to the Catawbias indicate that he kept an inn, perhaps an inn and store. He was appointed justice of the peace and stood high in the favor of governors.²⁰ In 1761 he had a survey made of six hundred and fifty acres running in an irregular tract from Little Pinetree Creek north of Pinetree Hill over to the river. The plat showed a pond on the creek with two millraces, one supplying a sawmill, the other a gristmill. The Pinetree Hill store in 1760 is spoken of as belonging to Joseph Kershaw, the Pinetree member of the Charleston firm of William Ancrum, Aaron Loocock and Lambert Lance, which evidently began its investment in Wateree land with Ancrum's plat of 1758. Kershaw and his brother Ely, later associated with him, are said to have come from Great Britain to Charleston.²¹

Robert Millhouse, Samuel Russell and Timothy Kelly executed their rights on the west side of the river ten miles from Pinetree Hill, in the bend below the mouth of Gum Swamp, which immediately came to be called Friends' Neck. These plats were largely swamp, however, and the next year Kelly declared that on examining his he could not find there "any place whereon to build a home conveniently," and on the rights of three children obtained another warrant which he had surveyed on Sawneys Creek at the falls.²² Millhouse likewise seems to have preferred higher ground, for in six months from his first warrant he applied for land on Pinetree Creek, a mile from its mouth, where he built a gristmill and,

¹⁸ JC, Oct. 25, Nov. 5, 6, 1751, Apr. 7, Aug. 7, 1753, Dec. 7, 1754, Oct. 21, 1755, June 7, 1757; see also *SCG*, July 23, 1753, and above p. 29, P, VI, 22, 34, 97-98.

¹⁹ JC, Feb. 4, 1752; the location can be made out from the plats of Hope and Kelly (P, VI, 32, IV, 457).

²⁰ JC, Dec. 5, 1752, Dec. 5, 1755; Indian Books, VI, 181-182; JCHA, Mar. 31, 1757, May 12, 1758; P, V, 351; *SCG*, Dec. 22, 1759; Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, pt. I, opp. p. 69.

²¹ *Ibid.* and pp. 11-12, P, VI, 415, VII, 156; Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, I, 495-496. Ancrum's plat included Pinetree Hill—P, VI, 353.

²² P, VI, 56, 115, 244, 355, VII, 247 (the plats and the advertisement of Kershaw—*SCAGG*, June 19, 1767—show the location; Ancrum's Ferry was later included in this neck—see Mills, *Atlas of S. C.*, Kershaw District); JC, Aug. 4, 1752, P, V, 394.

probably, his home and his sawmill. The inventory of his estate made a year later showed him possessed of five slaves, small quantities of wheat, barley and indigo seed, and three sets of indigo vats. The gristmill was valued at forty pounds, the sawmill at two thirds as much. As early as 1753 the Quakers had organized a meeting, and to their three trustees Wyly in 1759 gave a tract of four acres near Pinetree Hill.²³

The warrants and surveys in Fredericksburg and on the west side of the lower Wateree between 1737 and 1759 amounted to about twenty thousand acres each. Nearly a third of the total consisted of thousand-acre tracts for low country planters surveyed in 1759 in the Wateree swamp. There were four companies of militia on the Wateree in 1757, besides two in the Waxhaws, but two of these, Adamson's and White's, were evidently made up of men on the west side above the falls. The one which embraced the township, commanded by Joseph McKerthlin with Michael Brannon as lieutenant, had seventy-seven white men and listed twenty slaves. James McGirt's company, including the lower west side, had sixty-three white men, with sixteen slaves.²⁴ The total population thus indicated at the time of the return was about eight hundred, a number in accord with the headrights represented in the warrants, and in 1759 it was probably at least nine hundred.

The majority of the warrants were surveyed on the river, most of the others on the larger creeks, and until the last few years of the period it was seldom that one was surveyed away from any stream. There were a score of Germans. Of all the settlers only about thirty gave their origin—eight from Pennsylvania, six from Virginia, twelve from other colonies to the north, or from the "northward". Among them was John Collins who came from Long Island with his wife and five children, bringing a wagon, plow, "and tools proper to make Wheat and Flour." The trip took twenty weeks. He said that he left eight families on the Yadkin who were coming to South Carolina if they could be sure that they could have six months in which to take up the lands on which they might settle. Another settler from the north, William Smith, bought a tract already improved with a log house on it. Only five applicants stated that they were from South Carolina, but it is probably that at least a dozen others if not more were from the coast. For instance James Gamble declared that he was from New York, and applied for land for himself, wife, seven children, and three slaves; it turned out, however, that he was from Williamsburg and

²³ JC, May 5, 1752; P, VI, 56; *SCG*, Oct. 24, 1761 (advt. of William Farrell); Wills, 1752-1756, pp. 391-392; Inventories, 1753-1756, p. 405; S. B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore, 1896), p. 114, Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, pt. I, 77-81.

²⁴ JC, May 4, 1757. For Adamson, see below p. 232; his lieutenant is listed as James Colb, but the index to Plats shows that it is Cobb, whose land was on Rocky Creek, Catawba (JC, Aug. 2, 1757, P, VI, 297). White's land has not been found, but the small number of slaves in his company indicates that it was on the upper Wateree. See also below, p. 142.

was entitled to four hundred acres only. Edward Howard, his neighbor, was also from Williamsburg.²⁵

The plats of the 'fifties, like those of the preceding decade, show the difference in the needs of the small farmers and the planters. Those who had servants or slaves and sometimes those who had large families selected the river bottom below the fall line, where they found swamp, rich soil and high ground. This is sometimes shown in the 1759 plats for low country planters which were tracts of five hundred or a thousand acres, two or three miles long lying entirely in the great swamp. The warrants indicate that there were perhaps fifty slaves in Fredericksburg in 1759, most of them in the lower portion, and nearly a hundred on the west side of the river. The small farmers settled in the center and the northern part of the township, where the narrow river bottom left ample space for a house and cornfield. The heat and apparent danger of sickness may have been additional reasons why immigrants from the north avoided the swamp. Thus the upper part of the Wateree valley, piedmont in its soil, became small farm in its industry, while the lower portion showed a beginning of the plantations and their crops. A petition of the inhabitants in 1752 listed wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, flax, hemp, and indigo as the products their land produced successfully, also butter, cheese, pork, beef, and tallow. Joseph Kershaw or his partners in Charleston in 1760 advertised fine Carolina flour from Pinetree Hill, and in 1763 a quantity of hemp seed to be sold from either point. The Waterees took the lead in the process that was by 1763 to drive most of the northern flour, save the superfine grade, from the Charleston market. Cattle and stock were doubtless important throughout the valley. The 1752 inventory of John Scott's estate, which included ten negroes, listed about a hundred and seventy cattle, sixteen hogs, twenty-eight horses, and no other property save furniture and tools. Scott had a rifle-gun, a set of silver shoe and knee buckles and clasps, three books, a tablecloth, two pewter dishes, six plates, and six each of knives, forks, and spoons.²⁶

In response to the petition of 1752 the assembly appropriated a hundred pounds for clearing the river of the rafts of timber obstructing it, and directed that if the sum proved insufficient a tax of seventeen pence a hundred acres should be levied on all absentee owners of lands within ten miles of the river above the raft. The road called for by the petition, from Beards Ferry on the Santee nearly to the Catawba nation, was ordered built by the usual labor levy; later plats show that by 1755 it had been cleared to

²⁵ JC, Jan. 14, 1744, Feb. 6, Mar. 2, 1749, Dec. 3, 1751, Feb. 4, Mar. 3, 1752, P, V, 109.

²⁶ P, VII, 50, 52, 73-75, 77, 81, 91, 93, 124-125; JCHA, May 9, 1752, SCG, July 12, Aug. 30, 1760, Sept. 17, 1763 (Charleston news), Nov. 5, 1763, Dec. 29, 1766; Inventories, 1751-1753, pp. 457-458.

Pinetree Hill, but apparently not to the Waxhaws before 1760. The Wateree was cleared for less than half the sum appropriated, and fourteen pounds was reserved for removing future obstructions. There was a path on the west side of the river leading to the private ferry over the lower Congaree kept by Joseph Joyner, and probably by 1754 a ferry was maintained by Anthony Wright opposite Pinetree Creek, but despite petitions the ferries were not made public nor a road authorized until 1766.²⁷

The Waterees seems to have been comparatively free of the rougher elements which the Indian trade gathered at the other fall line settlements. Only a dozen of the land petitions were signed by mark. After the complaint of horse thieves in 1745 a rather orderly life prevailed, though there were some exceptions. Riots occurred during the rush for lands in 1749 when the dispossessed claimants attempted to prevent surveys. The poor and illiterate Charles Lindsay had settled on the west side of Wateree immediately below Colonel Fox in 1748 and built his house near the river. He suffered many reverses, but secured a warrant and a survey in 1749. Fox, in an attempt to take advantage of his delay in completing his title, urgently petitioned for a warrant to the land, piously declaring that his chief purpose was to remove as a neighbor one whose principles were "Enfattuated by the Common Enemy to mankind". In lieu of this land he proposed to present him four hundred acres about forty miles distant which would make a much better range. But Lindsay vigorously denied all charges of actual wrongdoing, and, whatever influence the common enemy had over him, kept his land.²⁸

In 1756 the assembly provided a hundred pounds a year for a minister to preach at or near Pinetree Hill and six times a year at the most populous places within forty miles of that point, but for a decade the salary was unclaimed. However, the minister of Prince Frederick's Parish on December 9, 1753, baptized twenty-three children, most of them belonging to families near Pinetree Hill, and it is possible that other ministers also visited the section.²⁹

For twenty miles northwest of Williamsburg the land is characteristic of the lower pine belt, with wide swamps and areas of fine compact sand too level for proper drainage, alternating with higher and looser soil of more value. For another score of miles above this point, quite to the sand hills and embracing the upper waters of Black River, was a stretch of slightly rolling country with a loose, sandy loam as good as any the upper

²⁷ Above, p. 44, JCHA, Dec. 12, 1752, Mar. 31, Apr. 4, 16, 1753, May 10, 1754, Mar. 16, 17, 25, 1756, July 6, 1759; *Stats.*, VII, 504-506, IX, 186, 199-200, 213-216; P, V, 412, 439, VI, 27, 327, VII, 134, 269.

²⁸ JC, Jan. 24, May 2, Aug. 1, Sept. 6, Oct. 3, 4, Nov. 7, 1749, Mar. 3, Sept. 1, 1752, Feb. 5, 6, Apr. 30, 1754, Feb. 2, 1756.

²⁹ *Stats.*, IV, 20-21, Fulham MSS, N. C., S. C., Ga., No. 72, p. 43, *Register* . . . *Prince Frederick*, pp. 40-41.

pine belt afforded. Here the Catawba Indians had hunting camps as late as 1748.³⁰

In 1744 John Neilson, a Charleston butcher, had two small surveys made on Rocky Bluff Swamp and Turkey Creek, and on one of these tracts Samuel Neilson made his home. John Hope, who had been fifteen years in the province, in 1746 likewise established himself on the upper waters. Plats for Williamsburg names begin to appear in 1752, though David Anderson had actually settled himself on the "northernmost Branch of Black River"—doubtless Stony Run, where his lands were later surveyed—as early as 1742; it is probable that others too had ventured to build in this secluded part of the middle country without applying for warrants.³¹ There were at least twenty-five settled near each other chiefly about Stony Run, among them Robert Wilson, Hugh Erwin, Henry Cassels, James Bradley and James Grimes.³² The tracts were nearly all less than five hundred acres in extent. Twenty or thirty others settled on the headwaters of the Black, some of whom may have been from Williamsburg. Lynches River was only a few miles from Stony Run and a portion of the overflow from the township found its way there.

David Anderson became captain of the militia company on the head of Black River and Lynches River, and gave the land for Salem Presbyterian Church built about 1759. A year before, on the petition of "the Principal Inhabitants of Jeffreys Creek", the governor granted a warrant for three hundred acres on or near that creek in trust for a Presbyterian church and minister. This church, too, probably owed its origin to migration of Scots from Williamsburg.³³

Along the east side of the Santee Swamp from Jacks Creek to the mouth of the Wateree lay a stretch of sandy loam, four or five miles wide, which held great promise for planters who could make use of it and of the nearby swamp. Beyond the head of the Santee this strip was in effect continued in the reddish sandy soil found in the high ridge paralleling the east bank of the Wateree but known as the High Hills of Santee. In December 1739 the lieutenant-governor proclaimed a two-year reservation of the east bank of the Santee and Wateree, from Jacks Creek to Fredericksburg township, for settlers from Scotland. The inspiration of this was doubtless the arrival in North Carolina in the preceding September of a shipload of three hundred and fifty Scots. Others were not won by this invitation, however, although the Commons House in 1743 hopefully proposed an exten-

³⁰ Bureau of Soils, Clarendon, Sumter, *Field Operations*, 1907 (Washington, 1909), Lee, JC, June 13, 1748.

³¹ *SCG*, June 30, 1746, June 23, 1759 (advts. of David Anderson, Henry Ravenel et al.); P, IV, 425, 454; JC, Nov. 20, 1746.

³² See P, V, 357, 386, 400, 464, 468, VI, 23, 93, 164, 218 and the names on the plats adjoining. The names may be identified from the petition of JUHA, May 3, 1748. See also *SCHGM*, XXVI, 122-123.

³³ See P, V, 282, 468, and JUHA, May 3, 1748; Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, I, 327, 412-413; JC, May 4, 1757, May 30, 1758.

sion of the time and the reservation of land near Williamsburg for Protestants from Ireland.³⁴

Development of the district therefore waited upon the planters who were during the 'thirties and 'forties moving into the region north and east of the Santee. Most of these settlers, among them John and Josiah Canteys, were from the older coast country, but Richard Richardson came from Virginia and in 1736 married Mary Canteys. He did not petition for land until 1744; his three hundred acres, surveyed at Halfway Swamp, showed his house on the road to Fredericksburg Township.³⁵ In 1749 George Russell, who claimed to be an inhabitant of the "North Britain tract", as the Wateree reservation was called, declared to the governor and council that there were several families from Virginia and Pennsylvania settled there, and that many others were planning to come to South Carolina. He asked for a reservation of land for a glebe which, by attracting a minister, would also draw most of his congregation. Accordingly five hundred acres was reserved for this purpose for a Scotch or Presbyterian congregation. The land was surveyed in the High Hills, but nothing more is heard of Russell or his congregation. Between 1745 and 1759 about seventy plats were surveyed between Halfway Swamp and Fredericksburg Township, chiefly about the High Hills. Among these was one for John Dargan on Shanks Creek, near the mouth of the Wateree. At his death in 1767 it had on it a gristmill and was well equipped for the culture of rice, for it was described as good swamp easily overflowed, ten acres under dams. On a nearby tract he had two sets of indigo vats. The militia organization combined these men with a portion of the upper Black River settlers, with Isaac Brunson of the High Hills as captain and Richardson as lieutenant of the company of one hundred and twenty-five. There were sixty-two slaves listed. Richardson was shortly afterwards made colonel of a regiment of the militia.³⁶

This Santee and High Hills section was sufficiently Anglican to secure for itself one of the three parishes granted the middle country before the Revolution and two of the four members in the Commons House from that section. St. Mark's Parish was established in 1757, Richardson, James McGirt, Matthew Neilson and three of the Canteys being made commissioners for building the church, which was eventually put near Richardson's home.³⁷

³⁴ Bureau of Soils, Clarendon and Sumter; JUHA, Dec. 14, 1739; JCHA, Dec. 15, 1739; SCG, Dec. 29, 1739 (proclamation; the reservation was ten miles wide); P, VII, 67; Col. Recs. of N. C., IV, 489 (compare SCG, Apr. 11, 1740).

³⁵ SCHGM, XI, 203-204, 213; JC, Oct. 5, 1744; P, IV, 291, 525; SCG, Aug. 31, 1747 (adv. of Thomas Monck).

³⁶ JC, July 4, 1749, Sept. 3, 1754, May 4, 1757, Oct. 1, 1759; P, IV, 421, VI, 15, VII, 67; SCAGG, Feb. 27, 1767 (Provost-Marshal's adv.).

³⁷ Stats., IV, 35-37, JCHA, Jan. 30, 1759, Mouzon, Map of N. and S. C.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE
BACK COUNTRY

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BACK COUNTRY

By 1759 South Carolina settlement, following the rivers of the middle country, had largely realized Governor Johnson's plan. As though by a seven-fingered hand the tidewater had laid hold upon the entire coastal plain, and by its economic and social system bound the region securely to itself. Meanwhile for twenty years forces of expansion, much the same as those which had settled the lower and upper pine belts, had been filling up the piedmont. Already, however, it was apparent that this was a section fundamentally different from the plain below the sand hills, and the grave problems which were in store for the South Carolina government were even now faintly foreshadowed.

Soil, topography, climate and distance from the coast all had their part in marking out a different development for this "up country", as it later came to be called. Originally it was a low plain of sand and clay, with its seashore the line of great sand banks which later became the sand hills. As the ocean receded to its present position, the rivers deepened their valleys across the piedmont plain which now became a plateau, carved into rectangles and triangles by the parallel or converging streams. A thousand creeks cut through the edges of these valleys, sometimes reducing them to gentle slopes, but near the large streams making veritable little mountain ranges. The desirable land thus came to lie upon two levels, the river valley with its adjoining creek bottoms, and the long parallel stretch of plateau with its ridges that reached out and interlaced with the arms of the valley. The river sometimes ran through a wide basin, then again between steeply sloping sides, while the upland stretches in turn might be several miles wide or mere ridges from which one could look down a creek bottom in either direction to a river.

This was the topography of the piedmont—infinately complicated in detail, but simple in plan and impressive in the constantly recurring sweep of valley and ridge. Later generations were to see many of these hillsides cleared and abandoned, lonely as sand hill or pine barren, with all the larger streams reddened or yellowed by the clay poured into them. But the new-comer saw clear waters and the varied unbroken green of the great forest of oak, hickory and pine.¹

The soil of these hills and plateaus compared favorably with any but the very best in the province. The surface was a mold, rich, though of no great thickness, laid down by the hardwood trees. The valleys of the rivers and larger creeks were even more fertile, for in them had slowly accumulated an alluvium of washings from the hills. While the surface mold was of fundamental importance in the settlement and early development of the piedmont, it was the prevailing clay subsoil which was later to determine its history. This clay, really a mixture of sand and clay, ranged in depth from a few inches to many feet, and was derived from the weathering of rocks, chiefly granite and the kindred gneiss. When comparatively level ground was cleared the surface drainage slowly carried away the clay, often leaving several inches of sandy loam like that of the coastal plain. On unprotected slopes, however, no sand could accumulate, and the clay was swept off in sheets or eaten out in gullies.

The clay, especially where it had a coating of sand, formed an ideal foundation for the mold which lay upon the surface, the sand keeping the earth porous and well drained, the clay holding moisture. Unfortunately this combination was easily destroyed. On level ground the subsoil was secure, but the surface soil was soon exhausted, and on the slopes both were quickly washed away.²

The piedmont, even at its lower edge, rose two hundred feet above the coastal plain, and was free from swamps. In consequence the air in summer was cooler and less sultry than that of the low country, and its climate more healthful. This was probably the chief attraction to the immigrant from Europe and the northern colonies. But however conducive the region might be to health and comfort, it held little promise of wealth for the early eighteenth century settler. By neither soil nor climate was it well adapted to the staples of the day. Far worse than this were the difficulties in the way of transportation. Each river made its exit from the piedmont by tumbling over a series of rocks; a dozen other shoals lay back of this

¹ See, for instance, *Indian Books*, II, pt. 2, 22-23. That treeless spots were rare is shown by the early plats, which seldom lacked trees to mark all lines.

² See Bennett, *Soils and Agriculture*, pp. 147-148; Bureau of Soils, *Field Operations*, 1902, 1909, 1911, 1921 (Washington, 1903, 1912, 1914, 1926), Abbeville Area, Anderson, Fairfield, Greenville; Phillips, *Life and Labor*, pp. 5, 9-10. For contemporary descriptions of this and similar areas, see *American Husbandry*, I, 388-389, *Travels of William Bartram*, pp. 318-328; compare Adelaide L. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (4 vols., Raleigh, 1922-1930), I, 44-60.

point, and navigation even with small boats was so tedious and dangerous that early settlers found pack train and wagon preferable. Land transportation in turn faced great obstacles, for roads paralleling the rivers crossed many creeks, some deep and nearly all with steep banks. The best routes were along the ridges between the rivers, but these ran at a distance from the desirable land of the river bottoms. Thus the corn, wheat or cattle which the piedmont could produce so well and which the rice plantations could afford to buy must be carried or driven from one to three hundred miles to market, and there sold in well-nigh hopeless competition with similar products from the upper or lower pine belts or from Pennsylvania. Therefore the piedmont remained in isolation—a back country indeed—until the slow coming of the canal, railroad, and cotton.

NINETY SIX

- 1 The First Ninety Six
- 2 Fort Ninety Six, 1759-1761
- 3 Ninety Six Courthouse, 1772
- A, B, C Lands of Robert Gouday

Scale of Miles

MAP 6

THE NORTHWEST FRONTIER

- 1, 2, 3, 4 Hamilton's Plats
- 5 Prior Survey "at Coronaca"
- 6, 7 Prior Surveys for Hamilton
- 8 Ninety Six-See Inset Map

References: for the Great Survey, Chapter X, n. 24; for the townships, Chapter XVI, notes 30, 34; for Ninety Six, Chapter X, n. 3.

Scale of Miles

CHAPTER X

THE NORTHWEST FRONTIER

The movement of settlers into the hills waited for the Carolina population to span the low country—not even the hardest of frontiersmen cared to be more than a day's journey from his fellows. But no sooner was the settlement of the upper tier of townships well under way than men began to seek the creek and river valleys beyond the fall line. Such was the isolation of the region, however, that in some portions the Indians and their trade largely determined its early history. The Cherokee path along the Saluda River first opened the way for back country settlement, but then, having been indirectly the means of encouraging expansion, the Indians so effectually blocked its progress that the farther end of the path was not reached until the whole province east of it had been settled.

In the early part of the century the chief route to the Cherokees began at Fort Moore and followed the eastern side of the Savannah River to the Lower Towns. Near the crossing of the path over Stevens Creek John Stevens in 1715 maintained a cowpen, the establishment surviving only in the name of the stream. This path was half as long again as that which ran by way of the Congarees, but so inconsiderable was the trade of the Cherokees that they had to depend for their goods upon the center of the greater southwestern traffic. By 1730 or earlier some traders, to avoid the large streams that fell into the Savannah, were making their way due north from Fort Moore along the ridge between the headwaters of Stevens Creek and the Little Saluda. Reaching the Saluda valley at the point which later came to be called Ninety Six, the path followed an easy course along the edge of the narrow western side of that valley until it was within fifty miles of Keowee.¹

By 1740 there was a fundamental change in the situation. The Cherokee trade had become an important factor in the general South Carolina expansion, and the traffic turned toward the well settled Congaree and Santee valleys which afforded the shorter route, and a wagon road and

¹ See above, p. 10; Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*; P, V, 100, 137, 405; *Year Book, Charleston*, 1894, p. 327; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 41, 132, and map; JC, Mar. 1, 1744; PR, XIII, 76 (Philemon Parmeter, Oct. 19, 1727, enclosed by Middleton, June 13, 1728); Swanton, *Creek Indians*, map 3. For the Fort Moore-Saluda path see P, II, 361, IV, 439; for the Congaree-Keowee path see Salley, *George Hunter's Map*, Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*, and compare the journal with stream numbers on modern maps.

river navigation to Saxe Gotha town.² Enterprising men tried to anticipate the needs of the trade and advancing population by taking up land at what promised to be trading posts. Major Hugh Butler in 1736, a year before he went as agent to the Cherokees, had a hundred and twenty-three acres surveyed "at a place commonly called and known by the name of Saludy Old Town, at the Cherokee Path", but there is no evidence that he made any use of it. It was Thomas Brown who shrewdly selected the strategic center of the western piedmont and in 1738 had George Haig survey for him two hundred acres where the Congaree and Savannah Town paths met. This was on the south side of what was then called Ninety Six Creek, but now Henleys, about half a mile above its junction with the stream now called Ninety Six, and five miles from the river.³ Traders coming from the Congarees by turning so far to the left avoided the lower and deeper portions of Wilsons Creek. Ninety Six was the trader's estimate of the number of miles from Keowee, the nearest Cherokee town, and appears on George Hunter's map of the path made in 1730.⁴ It was the point selected by Major Butler, however, which had the earliest development. From a short distance above the mouth of the Little Saluda quite to Ninety Six the valley of the river offered good bottom land in rather generous stretches. Added attractions were the Cherokee path, which came close to the bank, and a ford over the river nearby. The west bank near the mouth of Terrapin Creek was the former home of the Saluda Indians, and over two centuries after their departure to Pennsylvania the name Saluda Old Town clings to the spot.⁵

It is probable that as early as 1740 some settlers had established them-

² See above, p. 58, below, pp. 170, 191.

³ P, IX, 376, JCHA, Oct. 3, 1737, JC, June 29, 1737. For Ninety Six see Map 6, inset. 1 is on Brown's 1738 plat (P, II, 361); 2 is on Robert Goudey's land—see below, p. 219 and note the Simpson-Murray plat (below, p. 127); for 3 see *Stats.*, IV, 325, maps in William Johnson, *Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene* (2 vols., Charleston, 1822), II, opposite p. 140, and John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution* (2 vols., Charleston, 1821), I, opposite p. 389. A, B, C are plats surveyed for Thomas Nightingale, William Dargan and Robert Goudey (P, V, 431, VII, 349, VIII, 450); notations and lines of the plats and Goudey's advertisement in *SCAGG*, Nov. 4, 1774, show that he acquired the other two. Brown's 1744 plat adjoined the southern line of his 1738 survey (P, IV, 268), but was ignored by later surveyors (see P, VII, 181, VIII, 450).

⁴ The original of the Hunter map is in the Library of Congress; attention was called to it by Professor Verner W. Crane, and it has been printed as *George Hunter's Map of the Cherokee Country* by the Historical Commission of South Carolina (Bulletin No. 4, Columbia, 1917). Thomas Brown's plat of 1738 was "at a place commonly called and known by the name of Ninety Six" and a second adjoining it was laid out for him in 1744 described as "96 miles from the Charokee Nation" (PR, XXII, 62—Hunter to Board, May 1, 1745). For two plats at the Little Saluda crossing, taken up about 1738, see P, IV, 89 (William Sterling and Edward Keating; both were residents of the middle or low country—see JUHA, Feb. 26, 1734, and Bennett, "Some Early Settlers of Calhoun County").

⁵ Bureau of Soils, *Field Operations*, 1909, 1918 (Washington, 1912, 1924), Saluda, Newberry; P, IV, 439, V, 153, Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, p. 33.

selves on the Cherokee path between the Little Saluda and Ninety Six to live by hunting or farming. In June 1746 Governor Glen, attended by nearly three hundred men, made a tour of the back country to hold a series of conferences with the Indians, and, incidentally, to see the progress of the townships. After an interview with the Catawbias at the Congarees the party proceeded to Ninety Six, crossing the Little Saluda River, then in high water, by swimming the horses and using improvised boats of buffalo hides.⁶ At Ninety Six was held the most important of the conferences, that with the Cherokees. It is hardly to be doubted that the inhabitants were all in attendance at this imposing affair. Among them was James Francis, who had lived in the back country of Pennsylvania and Virginia, one of the most interesting figures of South Carolina frontier history. He furnished five pounds worth of supplies to the governor's party at this time. Two years later he disposed of the improvements he had made at Saluda Old Town, and in the same year was appointed captain of a troop of rangers.⁷

This troop, with another which was put under the command of John Fairchild, was provided for by the assembly in April 1748 because of the capture of George Haig, the murder of a trader in the Cherokees, and other threats of an Indian outbreak. Each troop was to consist of fifteen men, two of them friendly Indians, and was to serve for four months. Within two days after receiving Glen's letter Francis enlisted twelve men, "All Living in Saludy Settlements".⁸ Of the twelve John Turk, Robert Lang, Charles Banks, David Ball, John Reed, and Henry Foster received warrants in the Saluda valley between 1749 and 1755, and John Foster had his plat surveyed in 1767; the other five appear never to have applied for land, and in 1748 not one of the troop had either warrant or plat. Francis begged the governor to allow him to enlist two more white men in place of the Indians, and gave a hint of the occupation of his neighbors by saying that "As for their usefulness in hunting for Provision . . . I Question whether e'er an Indian on the Main can compare with some of the Men inlisted, not only in killing Provisions or the like but any other Property that an Indian is adapted to." The commander of Fort Moore three years later in effect confirmed Francis' argument by his opinion that the best way to capture the raiding Iroquois would be to employ the "White Hunters abt the Congrees and Salude . . . for they are in general

⁶ See PR, XXI, 266-267 (Reply of Upper House to Commons, Oct. 14, 1743, enclosed by Council committee to Board, Apr. 24, 1744); note Adair, *American Indians*, p. 236 on the Cherokee silver mine (at this time the Little Saluda was usually called the Saluda—see *George Hunter's Map*); SCG, June 12, 1755; PR, XXII, 101, 202-203, 135-136, 154-155, (Glen to Board, May 28, 1745, Sept. 29, 1746, to Newcastle, Feb. 11, May 3, 1746).

⁷ JCHA, Feb. 20, 1753, Mar. 6, 1755, JC, June 8, 1748.

⁸ Above, p. 58, JC, Mar. 29, 1748 (letters of Minnick, Dexter, Beamer, Maxwell), Apr. 16, May 11 (letter of Francis), 1748, JCHA, Apr. 8, 1748.

very expert Woods men but might perhaps exceed their orders as they are little more than white Indians".⁹

There are occasional references in the South Carolina as well as the Georgia and North Carolina records to men who made their living entirely or chiefly by hunting and sale of skins,¹⁰ but nowhere in colonial South Carolina does there appear another community like this. Two of the troop, John and Henry Foster, were stepsons of the captain, and presumably came from Virginia or Pennsylvania with him. Charles Banks was also from the northward, and formerly in the Cherokee trade. Robert Lang and his father had land in Saxe Gotha by 1740 and at some time one or both of them probably were also traders. Francis himself did not know the Cherokee language, and could hardly have been at any time regularly engaged in that trade, but Henry Foster was familiar with the nation.¹¹

When Francis left Saluda Old Town he established himself at or near the crossing of the Cherokee path over Wilsons Creek, ten miles above Ninety Six.¹² He became justice of the peace and captain of the militia, but his "people" were not always favorably known—"Seven or Eight very desperate Fellows", Herman Geiger called them. Despite the fact that Francis' influence was strong in this community, his authority was probably ill defined. His sole land warrant, sworn to in 1755, was for only a hundred and fifty acres, and it was probably from hunting and trafficking with Indians and whites for skins that he and his henchmen drew most of their livelihood. It seems to have been this trade also which brought him into debt that he could not pay, and his retirement from Saluda Old Town, it was alleged, was to enable him to defend himself against writs. But Francis likewise farmed, and a farmer near him was plundered by the Indians in 1751 who "made a Dreadfull Havock", destroying most "of the Corn then Growing, Potatoes, Colwarts Tobo". Another man of this neighborhood had five cows killed, four of them milch cows with young calves. In fact, the population which depended entirely upon the soil must have far exceeded the hunters in number, for Glen in 1751 sent a hundred muskets,

⁹ JC, Apr. 6, 1749, Apr. 1, June 4, 1751, July 3, 1752, Feb. 1, 1754; P, IV, 502, V, 39, 135, 411, VI, 74, VII, 324, IX, 147.

¹⁰ For South Carolina see *Stats.*, IV, 310, JC, Oct. 31, 1766, JCHA, Jan. 7, 1768, *SCG*, July 14, 1759, Oct. 30, 1762 (advt. of Lazarus Brown), *SCAGG*, Oct. 2, 1767; for North Carolina, see Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, I, 46-47, 50, 58, *State Rec. of N. C.* (16 vols., Winston and Goldsboro, 1895-1906), XXIII, 218-219; for Georgia, see *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, VIII, 167, JC, Sept. 16, 1756.

¹¹ JC, June 29, 1737; May 7, 11, 23, 1751 (statements of Stephen Crell, Herman Geiger, and David Dowe); July 3, 1753; Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 12-13 (affidavits of William Turner and Charles Banks); Adair, *American Indians*, p. 347; Map 3.

¹² He lived five or six miles from Thomas Davis (Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 21), who lived twelve miles above Ninety Six on Goudey's Saluda River plantation (*SCG*, Sept. 27, 1760). These distances correspond with those on the Simpson-Murray plat (below, p. 127).

a hundred pounds of powder and two hundred pounds of bullets to Francis to distribute to those destitute of arms.¹³

James Adair, the Chickasaw trader and later author of the *History of the American Indians*, recently ruined in the attempt to win the Choctaws to the English alliance, graced the household of Francis with his presence during 1750 and 1751. He went to the Cherokees in company with Henry Foster, the two carrying two kegs of rum and perhaps other Indian trade commodities. The principal Indian traders were almost uniformly men of such large business interests and important connections that they heartily disliked the trouble-making frontiersmen, but the Scotch adventurer, who had not yet had his fill of danger nor suffered decline of his own boisterous nature, found these "brave Wanton fellows" kindred spirits. "A brave chearful companion" he declared Henry Foster to have been, when many years later he recalled their trip to the Cherokees, the songs and draughts of punch with which they beguiled the dangerous journey. Francis himself was not an uncongenial associate, to judge by hints in Adair's carefully written letters to the governor during the 1751 alarm, in which he applied for permission to lead these frontiersmen and the New Windsor Chickasaws against the Indian enemies of Carolina. When in his book he lauded the virtues and hardihood of the American woodsmen, he could have ranked no others in his mind above the traders and "Francis's people" with whom he had been most closely associated.¹⁴

About January 1751 the hunting camp on the Savannah of some Cherokees from the Lower Town of Tugaloo was rifled by white men of three hundred and thirty-one deerskins. The Indians applied to Francis, who gave them a written permission to search houses of men they suspected. Charles Banks soon found them "looking and Peeping about his House, Something more than Common," but Herman Geiger, now in his short term of trading with the Cherokees, reported that he was sure one of the Fosters was guilty. Some color was given to this charge by Francis' slowness in investigating the affair and the opinion of the Cherokees which he expressed in private. Unfortunately the affair was speedily followed by a crisis in Indian relations, and for a time the injured Tugaloo huntsmen were forgotten. Later, after the war scare had subsided, Francis wrote to Governor Glen describing the slow and inadequate process of frontier justice for Indians. Benjamin Burgess, escaping from arrest for theft of the skins, took refuge with John Vann, a former Choctaw trader who now

¹³ SCG, Dec. 3, 1750 (advt. of "John" Francis, J. P.); JC, Apr. 2, 1751 (petition of John Collier), May 11 (above, n. 11), Aug. 9, 1751, Aug. 5, 1755, May 4, 1757; PR, XXV, 355 (Glen's letter to one of council, enclosed by him to Board Oct. 25, 1753); Miscellaneous Records, MS, Charleston, 1754-1758, p. 159 (Protection to Francis, Apr. 9, 1755); Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 14-16, 17-23.

¹⁴ See below, pp. 195-197, JCHA, May 16, 1750, JC, May 11, 23, 1751; Adair, *American Indians*, pp. 266, 346-347, 454-455.

traded irregularly with the Cherokees. Vann maintained an establishment near Ninety Six Creek of more unsavory character than that of Francis—including three negroes, a mulatto and a half-breed Indian—"all bearing an Equal Character with Burgess & which I believe there is not three Families on Saludy wou'd Suffer any one of them to Remain Four & Twenty Hours on their Plantation." Eventually Vann sent one of the negroes, ostensibly to seize Burgess in his hunting camp, but really to kill him and thus prevent his telling tales. But Burgess, attacked in his sleep, escaped with a jaw "very much" broken, and several knife wounds, leaving two score deer and beaver skins, a rifle—one of the first mentioned in the records of the back country—and two horses. The provincial government finally assumed responsibility for paying the injured Cherokees for the skins.¹⁵

The chief episode in the 1751 Indian alarm occurred on a branch of the thinly settled Little Saluda. The head of the stream later called Clouds Creek was formed by several springs near the crossing of the natural routes from the Congarees to Fort Moore and from Ninety Six to Orangeburg; for that reason, probably, the place appealed to the retired Indian trader Isaac Cloud, and here he made his home. At midnight of May 7, 1751, Mary Cloud arrived at the house of Martin Friday, in Saxe Gotha, and there gave her narrative on oath before Daniel Scheider, captain of the militia company:

That on the fourth Instant two Indians came to my House about Half-way between the Congrees and Savannah Town. The Indians were Savannas. They came there about dark, and sate down very civilly; and my Husband being able to talk their Tongue they talked a great while together, And I gave them Supper. And they asked my Husband for Pipes and Tobacco, and he gave it them. And we sate up until Midnight, and then we all went to Sleep; and they lay down too and pulled off their Mogassens and Boots. One of them broke his Pipe, and he came to the Bed to my Husband, who handed unto him his Pipe out of his Mouth, and laid down again; and we all dropt into Sleep: and when the Cocks began to Crow they came, as I suppose, to the Bed, and Shot my Husband through the Head. And a young Man lying upon the Floor was Shot in the same Minute. And the Indians, I suppose, thinking the Bullet had gone thro' my Husband's Head and my own too, struck me with a Tomahawk under my right Arm; and afterwards they struck me two Cuts upon the left Knee. I lying still they supposed I was dead, and one of them went and killed both my Children; & then they came and took the Blankets from us & plunder'd the House of all that was valuable and went off. And in that bad Condition I have lain amongst my Dead two Days. And by the help of Providence one of my Horses came to the House; and so I came to Martin Fridig's House.

¹⁵ Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 12-13, 14-20, III, 7-8; JC, May 11, Aug. 9, Nov. 25, 1751. For Vann, see P, V, 404, and below, p. 196. A German immigrant brought a rifle-gun in 1750 (JC, Mar. 13, 1750); see also above, p. 106. At some time between 1751 and 1759 Vann was on the Savannah River opposite the mouth of the Georgia Broad River (P, VIII, 273, 535). In 1759 he was in Georgia (PR, XXVIII, 210—Governor William Henry Lyttelton to Board, Sept. 1, 1759).

The Commons was stirred by this and other accounts of raids in the northwest to debate so drastic a measure as an expedition of a thousand men to punish the Cherokees and their friends, but later thought better of it. Meanwhile Mary Cloud had been brought to town, and the House, having resolved to pay her expenses, some months later read and approved the few bills which finished the story—five pounds to Doctor Chalmers for amputating her leg, with other sums to someone else for nursing her and to the sexton of St. Philip's for her funeral charges.¹⁶

The Saluda frontiersmen were rendered desperate by the continued danger and uncertainty. At one time they thought of falling upon the Indians and thus bringing the matter to open war, at another they threatened to abandon their homes if the government did not take measures to protect them. Four troops of rangers were provided, Francis and his neighbors built a fort on his place, and the storm blew over. The captain continued to enjoy the confidence of the governor, but his connections were not such as to recommend him to the low country as a whole, and when the Commons House provided in 1755 for a troop of fifty men to range from the Savannah to the Broad, it urged upon Glen the appointment of William Gray, veteran of the Spanish war and retired Indian trader, but a man of the middle country rather than the frontier. Glen accordingly canceled Francis' appointment, and sent the commission to Gray, who was then living near Fort Moore. "I have got some Enemies on Account of the Commission", the new captain wrote the governor, "but please God for to bless me with Health there shall be no cause of Complaint of any neglect of my guarding the Out Inhabitants of this Province." Since the troop had already been raised under Francis as captain and John Fairchild as lieutenant it is not hard to guess who were the enemies. Either they or his health speedily proved too much for him, for after only six days service he abandoned the command and went home again, with the result that Francis was eventually restored to the place.¹⁷

Life in Francis' neighborhood and on both sides of the Saluda about him appears to have changed very little until after the Cherokee war. Below, however, first at Saluda Old Town about 1748 and then at Ninety Six half a dozen years later, there had begun a more settled industry and society of farmers who owned their lands. For a time there was excellent prospect of the immigration of a large number of substantial farmers from Virginia to this section. In January 1746 Governor Glen and the council read two petitions of John and Thomas Turk and Michael Taylor of

¹⁶ JC, May 11, 1751, JCHA, May 13, 14, 1751, Jan. 9, 15, 23, June 12, 1752. For location note the deposition following, and *SCG*, Oct. 19, 1767 (Charleston news), P, V, 425, VI, 401, 420. No record of a warrant or survey for Cloud appears.

¹⁷ JUHA, and JCHA, May 9, 1751; Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 195-197; JC, May 23, 1751, May 7, 1755; JCHA, Apr. 27, May 10, 14, 1751, Feb. 6, 28, 1755, Feb. 17, 1756, above, p. 71.

Augusta County, Virginia. They stated that they had examined the lands about Ninety Six, which, according to "the Inhabitants dwelling thereabouts", were claimed by the Indians. They asked that the government purchase the lands and reserve them for new settlers from the back country of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the prospective immigrants to get the usual fifty acres a head and some further encouragement. The governor and council resolved that the lands should be purchased, and the Commons House agreed to a fifteen-year exemption from all provincial taxes save that on negroes, the exemption to begin only when one hundred families had arrived. The House, in accordance with its policy of compact settlement, instructed a committee to persuade the agents to select lands nearer the settled areas, but the reply was that only the Ninety Six region would serve their purpose, as nowhere else could they find land "so healthy in its situation so good in its kind or sufficient enough to support such a number of them as may be sufficient to make themselves secure against the attempts of Indians or other Enemys." John Turk evidently remained to see the purchase made from the Cherokees, while Taylor and Thomas Turk went back to spread the news and to make preparations for removal.¹⁸

But this project, even more than that of the Welsh tract, which it closely resembled, was to meet with many difficulties. Relations with the Cherokees in 1746 were none too good, and nothing was done about the purchase until John Turk, evidently despairing of action, returned to Virginia. Thereupon in October the governor and council received from the three promoters a letter in which respect for constituted authority contended with disgust. "The want of such a purchase has caus'd a War & Bloodshed where we now live, which makes the people here afraid of falling again into the like crooked Circumstances." The failure of the administration "makes the people here believe you want that land settled without the charge of a purchase, which they are unwilling to do . . . if a purchase is made soon, it will clear us, if not, we shall rue that we were at any trouble or charge about it." The petitioners seemed resolved to come whether or not, but William Baskins, John Pickens, James Lesslie "and above 30 other" inhabitants of the back country of Virginia declared that they waited for news of the purchase. This letter brought action; additional instructions were given to a recently appointed Cherokee agent, and on the twelfth of February 1747 the headmen of the Lower Towns signed a deed for the Cherokee lands between Long Canes and Ninety Six, defining the new boundary as extending along Long Cane Creek to its head, thence to the head of the nearest tributary of the Saluda, along that stream to the river, and from that point north to the Catawba-Cherokee

¹⁸ JC, Jan. 9, 10, 14, Oct. 21, 1746; JCHA, Jan. 10, 11, 13, 1746.

path. The price was a hundred and eighty nine pounds sterling, paid in ammunition.¹⁹

The effect of this purchase was to hasten settlement on the Cherokee path, but the early settlers were the hunters and squatters of Ninety Six rather than farmers or planters like the clients of the Turks. The latter were probably alarmed by the news of South Carolina Indian troubles and went elsewhere or did not come to the province at all. As for the promoters themselves, left without the support of neighbors, they took up land farther down the river. John Turk, who had returned from Augusta County in time to serve in Francis's troop in 1748 and the next year, had four hundred and fifty acres surveyed just above Terrapin Creek at Saluda Old Town. His household included three slaves and an indentured servant. Thomas Turk does not appear again, but James Turk in 1749 had two hundred acres surveyed on the east side of the river nearly opposite John's land.²⁰

Up to 1752 there were about thirty plats, averaging three hundred acres each, surveyed about Saluda and Ninety Six. Among the headrights were those of James Maxwell, low country planter and Cherokee trader, who had sixteen hundred acres surveyed in a great bend of the Saluda on the east side, and of Daniel Burnett, evidently from Charleston, who bought Francis' improvements at Saluda Old Town and later had five hundred acres run out there. Making allowance for Maxwell's slaves, who were probably on his low country plantation, and for the Ninety Six hunters, few of whom had warrants, the land records indicate a population of about a hundred and eighty. During the 1751 crisis practically no warrants were issued for land in the Saluda valley, but settlement only awaited the prospect of peace; "the world can Scarcely Exceed us, in a more healthy Climate," wrote Francis during the troubles, "more Clear and wholesome Waters Running thro' such a beautiful and fruitfull soil, These Blessings wou'd soon Induce thousands to be Partakers, when they understand this Government hath taken such Methods with the Indians so as they need be under no concern, of fear or danger from them." Only a fort in the settlement, or perhaps among the Cherokees, and a standing company of rangers, he declared, would make the frontier secure.²¹

Meanwhile the Saluda valley and the adjacent waters of the Savannah had become the scene of the largest speculation in land in colonial South Carolina. As early as 1737 John Hamilton of London petitioned the crown for two hundred thousand acres of land in the province on which to

¹⁹ JC, Oct. 21, 1746, Mar. 7, 1747; Wallace, *History of S. C.*, I, 447-448; JCHA, May 22, 23, 25, June 10, 1747. The agent was George Pawley—below, pp. 194-195.

²⁰ JC, Apr. 6, Aug. 1, 1749; P, IV, 502, V, 39, 105. For Pickens, Leslie and Taylor, see below, pp. 138, 147, 148.

²¹ JC, Aug. 20, 1743, P, V, 105, *Register of St. Philip's*, index, P, IV, 439, JC, June 8, 1748, *Indian Books*, II, pt. 2, 21-23.

settle a thousand families and to raise wine, olives, coffee, hemp, flax and so forth. He claimed to have made agreement with a hundred and forty families as prospective settlers. The Board of Trade, however, was not satisfied with his proposals or his ability to carry out the settlement and reported against it. In 1741 William Livingston, who was merely the agent for the newly appointed Governor Glen, made a similar proposal for himself and "associates", undertaking to settle a thousand persons on two hundred thousand acres on the Savannah in ten years. The products he had in mind were rice, naval stores, "and in time even Silk and Wine". The Board recommended granting the petition, despite the extraordinary proportion of two hundred acres per head, in view of the fact that the promoters were to meet all expenses of transportation and settlement. The crown gave the order, stipulating that there should be settled one white person to each two hundred acres.²²

For a time the Livingston project languished, probably because of the Austrian war and the depression in South Carolina. Meanwhile John Hamilton revived his plans, and in 1747 petitioned the crown for half a million acres in South Carolina on condition of settling one person per two hundred acres. It appeared now that Solomon da Costa, Francis Salvador and other Jews had associated themselves with him, in order to settle some of their poor in America. However, the unwillingness of da Costa and his group to bind themselves to a large initial expenditure caused the failure of this petition likewise. In 1749 the Livingston order was renewed and transferred to Hamilton, and the latter, with a family of fifty-eight persons—whether servants or slaves does not appear—proceeded to South Carolina.²³ In November 1751 Surveyor-General George Hunter surveyed the two hundred thousand acres of "Hamilton's Great Survey" in four plats of equal area. The tract, nearly eighteen miles on a side, extended from the Saluda River far into the valleys of Long Cane and Stevens Creeks, and lay immediately above Thomas Brown's 1738 plat. The southernmost plat enclosed two surveys already made for John Hamilton amounting to twelve thousand nine hundred acres.²⁴

²² PR, XVIII, 272-276, 278-280, 304-310, XX, 383-385, 543-545, 581-584 (papers on Livingston-Hamilton application, dated, or received by Board, July 29, Aug. 31, Nov. 17, 1737, Aug. 8, 1741, Feb. 2, Oct. 29, 1742), XX, 338-340, 530-531 (Journal entries thereon, Aug. 11, Oct. 1, 1741, Jan. 15, 28, 1742).

²³ PR, XXII, 324-329, XXIII, 103-107, 198 (papers dated or received Dec. 7, 1747, Jan. 12, Mar. 26, Apr. 3, Dec. 13, 1748), XXII, 251-253, XXIII, 1, 31-32 (entries of Dec. 8, 17, 22, 1747, Jan. 12, Feb. 3, Dec. 8, 13, 14, 1748).

²⁴ The second, third and fourth plats are to be found in P, V, between pp. 506, 509; the lines of the first are in a survey of this tract made for its later purchasers (below, n. 25). The location of the lines of the entire Great Survey is indicated by the streams and line-trees on the four plats, by the marks on the adjoining plats, and by the plats of the following: Richard Oswald (XIX, 97), Andrew Williamson (XXI, 490, 491), John McCue (XVIII, 182), Elizabeth Campbell (IX, 30), Londonborough Township (below, p. 251). These references also show the inaccuracy of the survey. The southeast boundary of the tract was surveyed as a N45E line, but appears to have been N40E; compare the

The tract nearest to Ninety Six was bought in 1755 for eight thousand pounds by William Simpson and Dr. John Murray, a Charleston physician, and the one lying on the Saluda above it was earlier sold to Joseph Salvador, a London merchant. The Simpson-Murray tract was divided three years after its purchase, Murray taking the half lying next to the river. It was doubtless on this land that he established a plantation, for in 1757 he had an overseer "at Saludy". Probably most of the "12 stout Negro's" in the Ninety Six fort at the beginning of the Cherokee War were his. Murray also seems to have acted as agent for Hamilton for the remaining lands of the Great Survey, and raised cattle on his plantation called Hard Labor, which gave its name to the western branch of Stevens Creek. Cuffytown Creek, the eastern fork, was doubtless so called from the negro quarters of a similar plantation. Dr. Murray's advertisement of 1760 for a strayed horse bred at Ninety Six gives point to the name of Horse Pen Creek, a nearby branch of Cuffytown.²⁵ Andrew Williamson appears in the back country in 1758 furnishing and driving cattle and hogs to supply the forts, and in 1760 and 1766 seems to have been employed by Murray or in partnership with him. The fact that Williamson applied for no land until 1767 suggests that his own headright had been taken up by someone else, and that he was a native of the province. A survey of 1764 refers to him as possessor of land and a mill within Hamilton's survey, approximately the location of his later plantation White Hall.²⁶

Stevens Creek and Long Cane Creek were the chief tributaries of the Savannah between New Windsor and the Indian boundary, and their basins contained most of the desirable land, for the river valley proper was narrow and steep. The two creek valleys, however, closely hedged in the Saluda and during the settlement period were, for the most part, merely an extension of the Ninety Six region. The Cherokee path made Ninety Six and Fort Moore the natural gateways to Stevens Creek and the adjacent bank of the Savannah, and shortly before 1750 settlers entered from each point. In 1747 Isaac Barksdale, one of the chief southwestern traders, recently if not at that time an inhabitant of New Windsor, secured from the Georgia government a grant of four hundred acres on Uchee Island,

boundary of the later Edgefield District (P, XXI, 491, Mills, *Atlas of S. C.*). See also C. T. Julien in *The Index-Journal* (Greenwood, S. C.), June 27, 1937, for the present state of this line. For the enclosed lands of Hamilton, see JC, Jan. 17, Mar. 23, 1751.

²⁵ Mesne Conveyances, 4T, 490-501; *SCG*, Jan. 13, 1757, Nov. 15, 1760 (advts. of Murray), Feb. 9, Mar. 15, 1760, Feb. 21, 1761 (frontier news); Laurens, Letter Books, Oct. 10, 1764. Murray and another coast-country physician, Dr. David Caw, in 1755 had a thousand acres each surveyed on "Stephens Creek" adjoining each other (P, VI, 14, VIII, 393). These probably were the plats on Hard Labor Creek included in Londonborough Township—see below, p. 251, n. 30 for reference.

²⁶ JCHA, May 12, 1758, July 2, 1766; Indian Books, VI, 134; JC, Mar. 3, 1767. His mill was near the lower end of the survey numbered 6 in Map 6. The Williamson name was not uncommon near the Edisto and lower Savannah (see P, I, 409, IV, 454, VII, 176).

probably the island ten miles above the mouth of Stevens Creek at or near which the Uchees had formerly lived. Here the next year he had an overseer, but whether for plantation or cowpen does not appear.²⁷

In 1751 Joseph Chatwin and a Virginian, Joseph Nelson, asked for land which they had already settled on the river above the mouth of Stevens Creek.²⁸ Chatwin had four slaves, and later applied for land on the rights of three more. He soon began work as deputy surveyor, and was captain of the first militia company of the section, but by 1759 had removed to Georgia.²⁹ In 1752 Matthew Chavous applied for a warrant for three hundred acres, explaining that he was a free negro, and had been in the province twelve years. The council postponed action for more deliberate consideration "whether the giving away lands to Negroes in this Province and to their Posterity be Expedient", but the matter was not referred to again. Thomas Bassett in 1751 swore to the rights of himself, four children and thirty slaves, and applied for land on the waters of Savannah. After a long delay for which he declared the Indian alarm of 1751 in part responsible, and during which he went to Virginia, the warrant dwindled to two hundred and fifty acres in New Windsor; Thomas does not appear as a settler but Nathaniel Bassett does. It is possible that others besides Bassett intended to settle here and changed their minds for one reason or another; Jacob Pennington in November 1749 asked that his warrant for three hundred and fifty acres on the Savannah be changed to the district between the Broad and Saluda, for he had "found himself deceived in the Situation and Quality of the Land on said River."³⁰

The other entrance to the Stevens Creek district was from the north, by Ninety Six, whence a formerly used branch of the Cherokee path led directly south to Savannah Town. Cuffytown Creek, extending far beyond the main valley of Stevens, was nearest to the Saluda settlements. John Scott in 1747 applied for four hundred acres, having a wife, one child and five slaves, and four years later on the rights of three children obtained another warrant. The first warrant was surveyed on Haw Tree Creek, a branch of Cuffytown, near the Ninety Six path and Horse Pen Creek;

²⁷ JC, Mar. 1, 1744, *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, VI, 171-172 (see also pp. 416, 434, and IX, 265), Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*, SCG, Aug. 30, 1748. See also Patrick Cardiff and James Jarvis—probably Indian traders, the latter a resident of New Windsor. Their plats seem to have been surveyed a few miles above the mouth of Stevens Creek (JC, June 3, Nov. 6, 1748, Jan. 18, May 17, 1750, P, V, 100, 137).

²⁸ JC, Feb. 28, May 7, 1751, May 4, 1757, P, V, 137. Thomas Bryan had a plat surveyed adjoining Chatwin (JC, Feb. 28, 1751, P, V, 392). Several discharged soldiers from the independent companies applied for land here, but it is not certain that any became settlers (JC, Dec. 5, Aug. 2, 1749, Sept. 4, 1750, P, V, 249).

²⁹ JC, Apr. 7, Nov. 7, 1752, Oct. 21, 1755, P, V, 281, VI, 128, *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, VIII, 15-16.

³⁰ JC, Feb. 2, Nov. 7, 1749, Feb. 28, Apr. 7, July 8, 1752, Sept. 7, 1756, Grants, V, 73.

the second, the plat for which shows a mill on a branch of Stevens Creek, was probably nearby.³¹ Between 1755 and 1757 several others gained lands on Haw Tree Creek, among them Richard Wallace and Thomas Howard, who were made captain and lieutenant of the second militia company organized in the Stevens Creek district.³²

Better land than that on Cuffytown or Savannah River lay between these streams in the fifteen mile circle nearly surrounded by Stevens Creek and its tributary Turkey Creek. Horns, Beaverdam, Log, Turkey, Rocky, Sleepy and Mountain Creeks in quick succession, as one travelled the old Cherokee path to Ninety Six, offered good bottom land and pasturage. Alexander McGregor, a Charleston innkeeper, in 1747 obtained a warrant for six hundred acres near the mouth of Horns Creek. At its mouth another absentee, Ulric Tobler of New Windsor, in 1751 had two hundred acres surveyed and for a time thereafter the stream was known by his name, or that of Joseph Noble who applied for his warrant in 1754.³³ The next year, however, Benjamin Horn from North Carolina asked for two hundred acres on this creek and gave it its more permanent name; George Bussey, with five slaves, also settled here. Already the Germans arriving in Charleston were finding their way to the valley and in 1756 and 1757, surveys were made for them and for other Englishmen on Horns Creek and the nearby streams.³⁴

By 1759 the central portions of the Stevens Creek valley, from Horns Creek to the upper branches of Turkey Creek, had been dotted with nearly fifty surveys amounting to about nine thousand acres, and on Cuffytown there were a dozen more for actual settlers. On the river the taking up of land nearly ceased after 1752, though the thirty plats surveyed from 1747 to 1759 amounted to nearly as much as those of the Turkey Creek section. Among the newcomers here was John Scott, formerly of Cuffytown Creek, who seems to have moved about 1755 to a point about ten miles above the mouth of Stevens Creek. He was made a justice of the peace in 1760; above and below him half a dozen other settlers had surveys made which included convenient proportions of river bottom and high land. The total number of plats in the valley of Stevens Creek and on the river

³¹ Above, p. 117, JC, Nov. 10, 1747, Apr. 2, 1751; P, IV, 483, V, 150; for location of Haw Tree see Blakeley's plat, P, IX, 360, and names adjoining. Note that Horse Pen and Haw Tree Creeks are at or near Cuffy Town (P, VIII, 98, 119, 420, 500).

³² P, VI, 109, 334, VII, 17, XX, 372, JC, May 4, 1757. For several absentee land owners see P, VI, 167, SCG, June 5, 1755 (advt. of Peter Sanders), P, VI, 180, IX, 390, B. A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1905), pp. 33-37.

³³ JC, Nov. 11, 1747, Apr. 2, 1751, Apr. 2, 1754; JCHA, May 22, 1749; SCG, Jan. 30, Apr. 24, 1755; P, V, 148, XII, 118.

³⁴ *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, IV, 946, JC, Feb. 4, 1755, P, VI, 31. For the Germans see, for instances, P, VI, 170, 175, 199; for the English note John Lamar (JC, May 4, 1757, P, VI, 214, 234-235, 240, 332), and Timothy Puckett, formerly a Wateree settler (above, p. 102, P, VI, 253).

nearby between 1747 and 1759 was nearly a hundred and fifty, representing headrights of about six hundred and fifty persons. The two militia companies reported in 1757 had a hundred and nine men, and the returns listed seventeen slaves. The population of six hundred thus indicated corresponded closely to the number of headrights.³⁵

On the Saluda warrants and surveys between 1752 and 1759, a hundred and forty in all, amounted to nearly thirty thousand acres. Only three of these were for more than five hundred acres, and there were apparently not over half a dozen for non-residents. Slightly over half of the total were for land on the south side of the Saluda, along the river itself, scattered about on the branches of the Little Saluda, or rather compactly on Ninety Six Creek. On the north side the valley of Bush River was preferred to Little River, and to the banks of the Saluda. A few men had surveys far above the rest; Henry Foster's hundred and fifty acres was on the point between the Saluda and Reedy Rivers; John Reed, another member of Francis' troop of 1748, had two hundred and fifty run out farther up on the Reedy; John Turk in 1753 had one hundred and fifty acres, and James Williams in 1755 three hundred, surveyed on Raeburns Creek.³⁶

About ten per cent of the warrants were for Germans who had strayed farther north than the great Dutch Fork settlement. A dozen settlers stated that they had been residents of the province, five others that they were from Virginia, and several, including Edward Brown and Thomas Haverd, with twelve children, were from Pennsylvania. There were few servants, and few slaves besides those of Dr. Murray, but in 1748 Daniel Burnett was possessed of a servant and three negroes, and later Enoch Anderson had three slaves, William Turner four, and John Davis two. Stephen Holston had four "Dutch" servants.³⁷ Warrants and surveys in the valley above and including the Little Saluda account for nearly eight hundred persons. The number of warrants would have been considerably smaller had it not been for Governor Glen's trip to Keowee in 1753 to build Fort Prince George. On his return he received the petitions and heard the oaths as to headrights of sixteen men about Saluda Old Town and Ninety Six and in 1755, when he held a conference here with the Cherokees, even James Francis and Henry Foster paid their respects to the royal authority by seeking titles to land. Timothy Riordan, nearly thirty years after he, or one of his name, had served in a provincial company, appeared to ask for two hundred acres on Ninety Six Creek, and Benjamin Burgess got a warrant for a hundred acres which he had surveyed near

³⁵ P, VI, 85; Grants, VII, 39; P, V, 162, XIX, 365; JC, Mar. 22, 1754; Grants, V, 386 (apparently Lloyd acquired the Kirby plat); P, XIX, 365 (two plats of Scott), XVIII, 376 (Michie), 387 (Middleton).

³⁶ P, V, 407, VI, 74, 176, VII, 324; see also V, 245, 480, VII, 277, 282.

³⁷ JC, Mar. 16, 1749, Feb. 5, Apr. 3, 1750, Nov. 5, 1751, Sept. 3, 1753, Feb. 4, 1755; P, V, 75. For Burnett see above, p. 125, and JC, June 8, 1748.

Little River, though he fell again into evil courses during the horse-thieving days of the next decade.³⁸

In 1757 the two militia companies of Andrew Brown and James Francis numbered forty-seven and seventy men, respectively, and to this number should be added some portion of the company on the Little Saluda and Twelve Mile Creek below. Slaves, possibly fifty in number, were not included in the return. Thus the militia list indicates a population in 1757 of about seven hundred and twenty-five, which must have increased by 1759 to nearly eight hundred.

Ninety Six and the valley below had passed the hunting stage and developed a fairly prosperous and varied industry, with some products which brought in a money income. On Ninety Six Creek itself Daniel Migler had his blacksmith's shop. In 1751 John Collier who came from Virginia declared that he had built a flour mill on Samsons Fork, a branch of Saluda. Nothing more appears of his mill, but mill paths running toward Little River near its mouth are found on plats as early as 1749, showing the existence of one on the north side, and Mill Creek near Daniel Burnett suggests that there was another at Saluda Old Town. When in 1753 Governor Glen was casting about for provisions for the men who were to build Fort Prince George, he was encouraged to hear that the wheat crop of the Saluda valley had not failed. In a petition of 1755 the settlers of Saluda and Enoree stated that they hoped this year to raise "some hundreds" of pounds of indigo, but how many were able to make money in this way cannot be said. The country was well adapted to horse and cattle raising, and the Cherokee path and trade offered both outlet and possible market. Daniel Burnett's widow in 1755 had four horses stolen from her, and about the same time there is a reference to her cattle. The great majority here were small farmers who had little money, but evidently maintained themselves in a fair degree of comfort. Robert Lang in 1757 asked the Commons House to pay him twenty pounds for the plundering of cattle and goods, and the burning of his house by the Cherokees. The house was evidently a simple affair, such as John Hanna, from Virginia, expected his neighbors to help him build. Hanna also had the promise of aid in clearing ground.³⁹

A description of a back country establishment was put on record as a result of the mischievous work of a Cherokee embassy in 1753. In that year Stephen Holston of the Little Saluda appeared before the governor and council and declared that during his absence from home a party of

³⁸ JC, Feb. 1, 1754, May 22, Aug. 5, 1755, below, pp. 207, 209, P, VII, 24, IX, 144, JCHA, Feb. 28, 1770, PR, XIII, 195 (Enclosure no. 10 with Middleton's letter of June 13, 1728).

³⁹ JCHA, Feb. 5, 1755, Mar. 15, 1757, May 31, 1760; below, p. 172; JC, Apr. 2, 1751, Sept. 1, 1752; P, V, 52, 153, VI, 340, VII, 30; PR, XXV, 355 (above, n. 13); SCG, Oct. 31, 1754, June 5, 1755 (advts. of John Hamilton and James Francis).

about forty Cherokees, returning from a conference in Charleston, stopped for the night at his house. The Indians demanded provisions which were given them, and two were allowed to sleep on the floor. Holston's wife

retired to her bed Chamber and two other white men to their Rooms but no sooner had they been asleep, till the said Cherokee Indians Surrounded the house at the same time firing a great many Guns, and on Each side of the house there being a Door the Indians broke open the Doors and came forcibly into the . . . house and one of them armed with a gun endeavoured to force open the door of the Room where the Petitts wife Lay, she looking throw a hole asked him what he wanted and seeing all of them armed and in a forcible posture, to save her life she Jumped out of a window, with a young Infant in her arms and went thro the woods three Miles to a Neighbours house where she took Shelter that night, and in the morning she returned to her own house she found that the said cherokees, had Robbed her of the Chief part of her Pewter Plate Dishes, Tea Cups Kettle and took away about 30 Bushels of Corn.

As there were three other white men at the place that night, besides James Beamer and his half-breed son Thomas, who were with the party, Mrs. Holston's alarm may have been unwarranted, but it was sufficient to cause her husband to apply for his two warrants of two hundred acres each on the north side of the Saluda, away from the Cherokee path.⁴⁰

The Cherokee trade brought within reach of the Saluda settlers what was probably the largest store above the fall line, and made Robert Goudey the most important man, next to Francis, in the valley. Goudey first appears in the Cherokee trade about 1747, and was actively engaged in it for several years. In 1751 he came from the upper Cherokees with a hundred horse loads of skins. But two years after Herman Geiger's death he had a store at Ninety Six and was thereafter merchant rather than trader, carrying on enterprises larger, perhaps, than those of any other Indian merchant save Patrick Brown himself.⁴¹ He sent out one trader with goods worth three thousand pounds of skins, and in 1758 got judgment against Cornelius Daugherty for fifteen hundred pounds sterling. He had already the year before gone into the Cherokee country with two constables and six men and carried away four slaves from Daugherty in the night. When he died in 1775 or 1776 there were about four hundred persons in debt to him; some of the accounts, however, were of men dead fifteen years. By his will he left his property to his wife, son and daughter, but gave to his three Indian daughters a small sum of money each.⁴²

⁴⁰ JC, Sept. 3, 1753, P, V, 414, 424.

⁴¹ JC, July 18, 1748 (letter of Ludovick Grant), June 5, 1751, July 6, 1753 (statement of Elliott). An impressive sketch of a house "the forest, belonging to Mr. Gowdie" appears on the plat of the Simpson-Murray tract (above, p. 127, n. 25) on the east bank of the Saluda and nearly opposite the upper corner of the tract. Note "the forest" of P, V, 411, and "Windsor Forest" of JC, June 7, 1751.

⁴² JC, June 5, 1751; Indian Books, V, 44, VI, 105-109 (letters of Grant and Demere); Court Records, Common Pleas, Feb. 1758 (Goudey vs. Cornelius Docharty); Wills, 1774-1779, pp. 303-304; Inventories, 1774-1785, 195-208.

The Saluda valley above the German settlements between 1748 and 1759 represented a new phase of the South Carolina frontier. The rudest aspects of life here were to last less than a generation, but between the piedmont settlements and the earlier outposts of the province at the Congarees and Savannah Town there were differences of more than passing import. The great distance from markets, the climate and soil—one more healthful than that of the lowlands, the other more generous than that at the fall line—had bred or attracted a hardier and more numerous population, which as a whole had little wealth and few connections with the economy and society of the coast.

Yet the government and coast country had a grip upon the region which intelligent administration and the growth of settlement bade fair to strengthen. The burden of defense against the Indians the frontiersmen carried for the most part by themselves, but they looked, and not always vainly, for aid from Charleston. The conservative South Carolina government had no stauncher champions than the back country leaders who by reason of origin, or the property or position they had acquired or hoped for, felt themselves responsible for law and order in their section. Among these men was William Turner who owned slaves and seven hundred and fifty acres; his plantation, which included the low ground of Bush River at its mouth, displaced the irregular establishment of Thomas Haverd. Others were Enoch Anderson, the former Indian trader, who settled down with family and slaves opposite Saluda Old Town, and John Turk, who felt in 1754 that he had property enough to require his advertising in the *Gazette*, after the manner of Charleston tradesmen, the fact that his wife had eloped from him, and that he would not be responsible for debts contracted by her.⁴³ Finally there was Francis himself, doubly important because he combined education, experience and earnest desire to fill responsible positions with the frontier interests and outlook which gave him a powerful hold upon unruly neighbors.

The settlement of Stevens Creek and the nearby valley of the Savannah was the signal for the advance upon Long Cane Creek, the Indian boundary. John Chevis, a free negro carpenter from Virginia, in 1751 asked for land on the rights of himself, wife, nine children and a foundling infant, saying that he had begun improvements on Stevens Creek. This warrant the governor and council granted with the condition that he prove that he was free. The plat, however, was surveyed the same year on Little River, of which Long Cane Creek was a branch, five miles above the junction of the two streams. Wider bottom lands were to be found here, but it was several miles beyond the Indian boundary.⁴⁴ Four men between 1754 and

⁴³ JC, Feb. 5, Apr. 3, 1750, Mar. 17, 1752, Feb. 4, 1755; P, V, 75, VIII, 241; Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 12, V, 33; *SCG*, July 25, 1748 (letter to editor), Aug. 15, 1754.

⁴⁴ JC, May 7, 1751, P, V, 138; Patrick Calhoun refers to him as a free negro

1756 had surveys made on or near the lower course of Little River, hereafter generally called the Northwest Fork of Long Cane—perhaps to satisfy scruples in regard to the Indian lands. One of the settlers was the illiterate William Morris, “very Sick and poor” at the time, who sent his wife Elinor to petition for his warrant. He survived to take up more land and to have his wife elope from him.⁴⁵

These pioneers opened the way for a rapid development of the Long Cane and Little River valleys. Noteworthy among the new settlers was a group from the north, similar to, though smaller than, that which a few years before made the Waxhaw region one of the distinctive settlements of the province. The Calhouns—four brothers, James, Ezekiel, William and Patrick, their sister Mary Noble and a Hugh Calhoun—appear for a decade prior to 1755 in the records of Augusta County, Virginia, holding considerable tracts of land and disputing before the courts with their neighbors. After January 1755 they are found no more in Augusta records as residents, and John C. Calhoun, the son of Patrick, many years later said that the four brothers with their sister and their mother Catherine arrived in South Carolina in February 1756. In September of this year certain settlers of the Long Canes region petitioned the governor for protection against Cherokee depredations, saying that they had moved from the Virginia frontier at the beginning of the preceding year, and had secured the consent of the Cherokees for their settlement. Applications for warrants, however, were not made until June 6 1758, when William, Ezekiel and Patrick were allowed four hundred, five hundred and two hundred acres respectively, while Arthur Patton, doubtless also from Augusta County, was given a warrant for six hundred and fifty acres.⁴⁶ On the fourth of July Mary Noble applied for three hundred acres and James Calhoun for three hundred and fifty; in November Robert Norris, apparently another neighbor from Virginia, and Hugh and Robert Calhoun were given warrants for three hundred, a hundred, and a hundred acres respectively. Patrick evidently had secured a deputation as surveyor while in Charleston and with these tracts began the near monopoly of Long Canes surveying which he held for seven years. William had his plat surveyed to include Little River immediately above its junction with a small stream later known as Calhoun Creek. Perhaps the preference was given to Mary Noble, who acquired “Cane Hill” at the junction of the

(P, VII, 63, 381). The location is indicated by plats of Petit (P, VIII, 136) and Hillsboro Township (below, p. 253).

⁴⁵ William Beddingfield (*Col. Recs. of N. C.*, IV, 946, P, VI, 123); Nimrod Kilcrease (P, VII, 418); John Kilcrease (P, XX, 281, for location see P, VIII, 137 and plat of Hillsboro); Morris (JC, Dec. 5, 1755, P, VI, 350, VIII, 382, 552, SGG, June 11, 1763). Note also John Vann, above, n. 15.

⁴⁶ *SCHGM*, VII, 81–84, XXXIX, 50; Chalkley, *Chronicles*, I, 40, JC, Sept. 9, 1756, June 6, 1758; Indian Books, V, 220–221. The Calhouns were formerly of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

forks of Calhoun Creek, a mile above her brother. Patrick laid out his own land on the south fork of the creek a mile beyond Cane Hill.⁴⁷

Another group, the Alexanders, came immediately afterwards. From Aaron to Zebulun there were nine of them whose plats of from two to four hundred acres each were surveyed in 1758 and 1759 on Little River and the smaller streams near the Calhoun settlement. Adam Alexander was apparently one of the settlers on Governor Dobbs' Rocky River lands, and by 1759 two more of his neighbors had applied for land on Little River or its branches; after 1760 nine others appeared in the Long Canes and eight in other parts of the South Carolina back country.⁴⁸

Nearly forty plats were surveyed on Little River and its upper tributaries during 1758 and a dozen more on Long Cane and other nearby streams, the total headrights amounting to about a hundred and seventy-five. The next year, because of Indian troubles, there were only a third as many. Thus the Long Canes region had thirty percent of the landholdings of the Savannah valley above New Windsor. Despite its newness it boasted its mill on one of the branches of Little River, and a wagon road running from the Calhoun settlement across Long Cane and Turkey Creek to the forks of the Edisto.⁴⁹

How true it was, as the Long Canes settlers claimed, that they had the approval of the Cherokees for their Little River settlement, cannot be ascertained; they declared that for a time they were well treated by the Indians, but then began to lose their horses and cattle. Their suspicions that some of their white neighbors, perhaps engaged in the Indian trade or dependent on hunting, inspired the Indians to do them mischief was probably not without foundation. However, far worse than cattle stealing was about to befall those who had, wittingly or not, gone over the Indian boundary.

⁴⁷ Chalkley, *Chronicles*, I, 53, JC, July 4, Nov. 7, 1758. For these plats see P, VI, 382-383, 390, 404, 406, 408, 421, VII, 3, 27. For location of Ezekiel Calhoun's plat note that it adjoined Henry Baker who in turn adjoined Beddingfield (P, VIII, 376); for Patton, see P, IX, 382. The date of Hugh Calhoun's warrant is noted on the plat.

⁴⁸ P, VI, 355, 358, 395, VII, 12, 63, 284-286, 296, above, pp. 95-96.

⁴⁹ P, VI, 319, VII, 32, 47, 268.

CHAPTER XI

THE WAXHAWS AND UPPER WATEREE

The Catawbias and their kindred tribes, reduced to a handful by war and disease, left the valley of the Catawba-Wateree open for settlement below their towns, and at the same time were a defense against attacks upon it. Pinetree Hill was the natural outlet for the region, while through its upper gateway the great migration from the north made its way into South Carolina. During the 'forties the earlier representatives of the movement went down the Wateree and there or elsewhere mingled with the pioneers from the low country. The South Carolinians first met the solid mass of Virginia and Pennsylvania immigrants in the next decade on the upper or Catawba reaches of the river.

Settlement of the west side of the Wateree above the falls began shortly after that in Fredericksburgh Township. To the narrow valley and slate land of Sawneys Creek came Isaac Pinson, who could not sign his name, and James Adamson who declared that he had been many years in the service of the crown and had come with his wife and two children by way of Philadelphia.¹ Further north where Wateree Creek offered a wider bottom and better land John Arledge of Virginia and Richard Gregory from East Jersey in 1749 applied for warrants, and here John Stubbs—probably from Williamsburg—made his home.²

The first record of Moses Kirkland in South Carolina is typical of his troubled career. In May 1752 Richard Kirkland, from the north, applied for a warrant for three hundred and fifty acres on the rights of himself, wife, three children, a white servant, and two negroes. The plat was surveyed near the mouth of Wateree Creek where the westerly Catawba path crossed the stream, and was evidently settled by Moses. Accused later in the year of enticing the Catawbias down to his house to trade and of selling them liquor, Moses declared that he kept "a Store of Dry goods and have had some Rum and other Liquors to sell which I have sold to my Customers and Travelers as they pass [and] repass from the Northward to the Congarees &c" but indignantly denied that he had ever sold a drop of rum to an Indian in his life. In May 1754 he was summoned before the

¹ JC, Aug. 1, 1749, Oct. 3, 1752; P, V, 310, 370, VII, 146; Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, pt. 1, 62.

² Bureau of Soils, Fairfield, Kershaw; P, IV, 519, V, 144 (path on Cate's plat); JC, Mar. 20, 1735, Feb. 2, 1749.

governor on the charge of harboring a runaway negro and was again accused of selling rum to the Indians. The latter complaint he answered as before, but promised to send down the negro. Shortly afterward he began to take up land in Amelia, but finally established himself in the lower part of the fork of the Broad and Saluda and there set up an elaborate wheat and sawmill plant.³ At the same time on the north side of the river a small group of settlers was filling in the creek valleys immediately above Fredericksburg, among them Roger Gibson, who moved about 1751 from his place opposite Pinetree Hill to Beaver Creek. When he died not long after, his property was seized for debt. Nearby was Jonathan Christmas, who was from the Williamsburg section.⁴ Perhaps a dozen others established themselves on or near Beaver Creek before 1759.

At Great Falls, halfway between Pinetree Hill and the Catawba towns, a rocky ridge partly closes the Catawba valley. Above this point on the east side of the river from Camp Creek to Waxhaw Creek the land is rolling but not rugged, and the surface was doubtless a vegetable mold for which the red clay made a good subsoil, in some contrast with the darker heavier clay at Waxhaw Creek and beyond. Between the two small streams lay the district called the Waxhaws, composed chiefly of the fan-like system of Cane Creek and its tributaries; the Waxhaw Indians, after whom it was called, abandoned it at the time of the great Indian war and went to the Catawbias. The Catawba path dropped from the higher land into the valley, crossed Cane Creek above its junction with Camp Creek, and turned north along the ridge between the creek and the river.⁵

Edward Richardson, bricklayer, slaveholder, and real estate owner in Charleston, in 1749 applied for a warrant for twelve hundred acres in the Waxhaws, but later had his survey made on Jacks Creek, in the plantation area on the north side of the Santee. The troubles of others who actually attempted settlement may have caused him to make the change.⁶ Benjamin Maddox, evidently son of a Maryland settler in Fredericksburg, in 1752 declared that he had built a house in the Waxhaws, and had moved his family there; his warrant was surveyed at the junction of Cane and Camp Creeks. Ralph Jones, who came from Ireland with the Wyly group of Quakers, and Thomas Simpson, who had fourteen slaves, applied for lands on Cane Creek at crossings of the Catawba path, while on

³ JC, May 5, Nov. 15, 1752, June 5, 1753, Apr. 25, May 7, 1754, June 7, 1756, Sept. 7, 1762; JCHA, Mar. 19, 1765; Indian Books, III, 160-161, P, V, 417.

⁴ JC, Mar. 3, Dec. 3, 1752 (Daniel Bready), Oct. 2, 1753; P, V, 272, *Register* . . . *Prince Frederick*, p. 52.

⁵ Bureau of Soils, *Field Operations*, 1904 (Washington, 1905), Lancaster (this report, however, ignores the change in the soil beyond Waxhaw Creek); Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, pp. 74-76; JUHA, Oct. 6, 1737. For the path, which evidently changed its course, perhaps more than once, see P, VII, 269, XI, 471, XVI, 259.

⁶ Court Records, Common Pleas, Nov. term, 1746 (Richardson *vs.* Clark); SCG, Feb. 9, 1760 (adv. of Richardson); JC, Oct. 3, 1749, P, V, 449.

the river nearby John Hudson, a Fredericksburg settler, had a hundred acres surveyed for one of his children.⁷

But while these men, between 1751 and 1753, were establishing claims under the South Carolina government, another and larger group was settling in the Waxhaws. In 1751 Andrew Pickens, Robert Ramsay, Robert and William Davies, John Linn and James Moore applied to the governor and council of North Carolina for warrants in Anson County, then the westernmost of the counties in the unsurveyed portion of the southern border. Pickens applied for eight hundred acres, Ramsay seven hundred, and Robert Davies six hundred. Pickens became captain of an Anson County militia company, a roll of which, apparently made in 1754, listed sixty-one privates beside his subordinates, Lieutenant Robert Ramsay, Ensign John Crockett, three sergeants, and five corporals.⁸ Of the entire troop thirty-two appear in the South Carolina or North Carolina records as landholders in the Waxhaws prior to the Revolution. Seventeen more are indicated as residents of the Waxhaws by the appearance there of others of the same surname. Six of the total can be identified with Fishing Creek or Rocky Creek, opposite the Waxhaws; five more appear as landholders elsewhere in South Carolina.

Andrew and John Pickens were among the justices of the peace who met in December 1745 to form the first court for Augusta County, Virginia. The next year a John Pickens signed the petition to the governor and council of South Carolina for the purchase of the Ninety Six lands. In November 1750 Andrew sold four hundred acres of land in Augusta County, and disappears from its records. References to John Pickens continue, but one of that name was sought in 1750 and again in 1758 and not found. Upon his North Carolina warrant Andrew obtained a grant for five hundred and fifty acres on the north side of Waxhaw Creek.⁹ There are many references in the Augusta County records to Robert Ramsay or Ramsey. The one who came to the Waxhaws apparently surveyed both of his North Carolina warrants on Cane Creek, near the crossing of the Catawba path, and this point, lying as it did in red soil rather than in the darker tougher ground on Waxhaw Creek, became the center of the settlement. Here, adjoining Ramsay or his immediate neighbors, surveys were made for Thomas Wright, George Douglas, James Moore, John Martin Klein, John Kennedy, and Philip Walker, all members of Pickens' militia

⁷ For Maddox see JC, Sept. 6, 1749, Feb. 4, 1752, P, V, 291; for Jones, above, p. 103, JC, Dec. 7, 1752, Mar. 13, 1754 (letter of Wyly), P, V, 290; for Simpson, JC, Mar. 6, 1753, P, V, 420; for Hudson, JC, May 5, 1752, P, VII, 463.

⁸ *Col. and State Recs. of N. C.*, IV, 1246, 1250, XXII, 381-382.

⁹ Chalkley, *Chronicles*, I, 13, 305, 322, III, 289; above, p. 124; P, XIV, 240; Grants, (North Carolina), Book 2, p. 11, File No. 28 (office of Grant Clerk, Raleigh).

company; others were to be found close by on other portions of Cane Creek.¹⁰ Pickens had with him on or near Waxhaw Creek several of his company, among them Archibald Crockatt, William Hood, William Davies, and John Pickens. Near him Robert McClenachan, who was evidently of Augusta County likewise, settled himself, having in 1751 obtained a North Carolina warrant for four hundred acres. Never a doubt that he was not in North Carolina appeared to vex him, and he served as justice of the peace under that government, on the commission for establishing Mecklenburg County, and as captain of the militia.¹¹

Meanwhile on Cane Creek there had been trouble between the settlers holding land under the rival governments. Benjamin Maddox in his application for land in 1752 declared that the day after he moved his family to his new house a surveyor "and a Good many People belonging to N^o Carolina came and run out the Land," claiming that it was in that province. The survey on this warrant, however, and another made for him later show that he carried his point. Richard Causart the next year complained that after he had settled himself in the Waxhaws on the land for which he had applied to the South Carolina government, Griffith Rutherford, a North Carolina surveyor, surveyed the land and threatened to shoot him or any South Carolina deputy who might try to run it out. Despite the threat Samuel Wyly surveyed four hundred acres for him on a branch of Cane Creek. Ralph Jones secured a grant for his Cane Creek survey, "but being terrified with the Threats of the people in that part who say it is in North Carolina he was afraid to venture amongst . . . such Despar'd people", and sold the land to John Douglas.¹²

The governor and council ordered the land vacated, but at the same time wrote to the North Carolina executive protesting vigorously against the encroachments on the Catawbias and on the southern province. President Rowan directed an inquiry and sent a report of the findings of Anson County officials. One of these was Andrew Pickens, justice of the peace, who explained that Captain William Moore had obtained a North Carolina warrant, but delayed execution of it till after Douglas had established his title, and though he also bought a South Carolina warrant to the land, he "found himself the younger Brother there." Both "strove each with the other which should enjoy the Premises which occasioned great Contentions Quarrelings and Fightings between them, and Moore plows up the others Turnips and one turned Cattle into the others Wheat." Douglas first appealed to the South Carolina government, then both parties

¹⁰ See plats of these men, or their names on plats of others, P, IX, 128, XI, 471, XVI, 258-259.

¹¹ P, VIII, 451 (path on Jane Grierson's plat), XIV, 240; Deed Books (Anson County, N. C.), I, 280; Chalkley, *Chronicles*, I and II, indexes; *Col. and State Recs. of N. C.*, IV, 1250, VI, 799, XXIII, 590-591; see also V, 141.

¹² P, V, 291, 351, VII, 289; JC, Feb. 4, 1752, Feb. 6, 1753, Mar. 13, 1754.

went to Pickens. He persuaded them to submit the dispute to their neighbors, and they in turn referred it to the North Carolina government.¹³

Hard on the heels of this affair came the complaint of Daniel McDaniel. Three warrants were granted in the upper part of Fredericksburg to two slaveholders of that name, one from Virginia, the other from Williamsburg, but it was probably the former who in June 1754 described his injuries at the hands of would-be North Carolinians. His narrative was to the effect that "being at one of his Neighbours Houses called William Mitchell where there was Lickuar to sell, and some of the Company began to fight and abuse each other, the said McDaniel strove to peacefie them" and himself was drawn into an altercation with one. Afterwards "he went to one of His own Plantations" where he had a tenant and went to bed. Late in the night a party of men armed with clubs and other weapons came to the house to carry him before Squire Robeson, of Anson County. McDaniel and his tenant drove them off. A hue and cry, with promise of five pistoles reward resulted in his capture and appearance before several magistrates, one of them Andrew Pickens. Another protest from the southern government followed, and apparently the case went no further. It was partly to avoid conflict with the North Carolina authorities but chiefly for the protection of the Catawbas that Governor Glen and his council ordered the Jones tract vacated, and from time to time inserted clauses in Wateree warrants forbidding surveyors to execute them within thirty or forty miles of the Catawbas. The prohibition did not entirely prevent South Carolina encroachments, however, and of course had no effect upon the northern government.¹⁴

Most of the Waxhaw settlers were to be found on or near the five or six mile stretch of Cane Creek that parallels the river. From the center of the settlement where the Catawba path crossed Cane Creek another road ran west to Land's ford over the river. The plats as well as the names of these settlers are evidence of a group spirit that is in marked contrast with the individualism of most of the settlements on other piedmont rivers, and indicate that in part this was such a migration as that which settled the Welsh Tract. In Pickens' company there were five men of each of the names Pickens, Davies, and Nutt; four Crocketts and four Walkers, and two each of five other names. The first plats were on the creek, but later settlers showed a tendency to cling to the others, and surveyed the adjoining upland rather than the remaining but more distant creek bottoms. The court records of Augusta County, Virginia, indicate that, besides the Pickens and Ramsay families, Robert McClenachan, the McCorkles, Crocketts, and Linns came from that county. Three of the deeds for land

¹³ JC, Mar. 14, Apr. 24, May 6, 1754.

¹⁴ JC, Nov. 28, 1747, June 9, 1748, Jan. 24, 1749, Dec. 3, 1751, Aug. 4, 1752, June 5, 1753, May 11, June 17, 1754; Indian Books, III, 163-164.

by the Waxhaw settlers, recorded in Anson County, were paid for in Virginia currency.¹⁵

Across the river and somewhat below the Waxhaws lay a region much resembling it. Fishing Creek and Rocky Creek entered the Catawba at the "Great Falls" or shoals of the river, and with their tributaries made a rolling valley or a series of small valleys affording a large amount of creek bottom for small farmers. Thomas Pinson in 1749 asked for a warrant for fifty acres near the mouth of Rocky Creek on which to build a mill. Three years later John Lea or Lee stated that he came from Maryland about a year before and had settled on Wateree Creek, where he had cleared nine acres of land and on it "built proper Conveniencys for his Family". Thomas Land, a weaver, also from the northward, one of the party which attacked Daniel McDaniel, declared that he had bought a North Carolina warrant, but wished a South Carolina title; his four hundred acres was surveyed in the forks of Rocky Creek.¹⁶ Thirty or forty men had lands surveyed before 1760 on the west side of the river above Rocky Mount, but these plats were chiefly on the branches of Rocky Creek, for the sides of the river valley proper were narrow and steep. Few North Carolina surveys appear.

By 1760 over a hundred and fifty South Carolina warrants and surveys amounting to thirty thousand acres had been recorded for the Wateree-Catawba valley above the shoals on the west side and Fredericksburg Township on the east. A quarter of this total was located in the Waxhaws, another quarter across the river in the valleys of Rocky and Fishing Creeks, a third of it on the west side between Wateree Creek and the shoals, and the remainder on the east side between the Waxhaws and the township. To this amount should be added four thousand acres which can be identified as Waxhaw grants of the North Carolina government. Half a dozen men appear as settlers on Wateree and Beaver Creeks whose land records have not been found.

For the portions of the valley below Rocky Creek and the Waxhaws the land holdings are probably a fair index of the population—about two hundred and twenty-five on the west and a hundred on the east. But the number and apparent distribution of the men in Pickens' company in 1754 show that the South Carolina offices recorded only a small portion of the Waxhaw settlers. Furthermore, the South Carolina militia list of 1757 includes two Waxhaw companies—one commanded by Pickens, with Robert Ramsay as lieutenant and John Crockatt as ensign, the other by

¹⁵ See Chalkley, *Chronicles*, I and III, indexes; Deed Books, (Anson County, N. C.), MS, I, 222-224, 280, 390.

¹⁶ Bureau of Soils, *Field Operations*, 1912 (Washington, 1915), Chester. For Pinson see JC, Aug. 1, 1749, Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 87; for John Lee and his son Francis see JC, Nov. 7, 1752, P, V, 378-379; for Land, P, V, 416, VIII, 414, Deed Books (Anson County, N. C.), I, 431-432, JC, June 5, 1753.

Thomas Simpson. The first contained sixty-one white men, including officers, and six slaves; the second, sixty-one whites and seven slaves. There were two companies on the west side, Adamson's and White's. The population of the Waxhaws was probably about five hundred, and that across the river on Rocky and Fishing Creeks over three hundred.¹⁷

The Catawbas, perhaps the chief sufferers by the boundary controversy, themselves became troublesome as settlers encroached upon their lands. A certain Andrew Clever was driven from Fishing Creek by the young Catawbas who burned his house but allowed him to take away his belongings. A drunken Catawba even killed a child in the Waxhaws, but was immediately put to death by his tribe. Matthew Tool, the trader who stayed in the nation, complained of their usually petty but constant depredations on the inhabitants. The South Carolina settlers found no favor with their government, since the sufferers all lived within the thirty-mile limit set by Governor Glen. The North Carolina administration, feeling little need of the Catawbas as a frontier defense, resented the South Carolina reservation and protectorate, and aggrieved settlers had some success in their applications to that government. At a conference at Tool's house in 1754 three settlers, who cannot be identified by the records of either government, complained that the Indians took bread, meat and clothes from them, and had even tried to carry off a child. The Catawba chief, King Hagler, made a good defense. The attempted abduction, he said, was merely a joke of one of their wild young men. When the warriors were on the warpath, either in pursuit or flight, and went to some of the settlers' houses for food, "no sooner we do appear but your Dogs bark and . . . [you] hide Your Bread Meal and Meat" so that food had to be taken by force. However, there were many "that are very kind and Curtious to us . . . they give us Bread and milk meat or Butter very freely". In turn he brought the constant Indian indictment against the whites: "Brothers here is One thing You Yourselves are to Blame very much in, That is You Rot Your grain in Tubs out of which you take and make Strong Spirits You sell it to our young men and give it them, many times; they get very Drunk . . . [and] Commit those Crimes . . . it is also very bad for our people, for it Rots their guts and Causes our men to get very sick".¹⁸

It is chiefly these fracasos of McDaniel, Douglas, and the Indians that bring out the scanty evidence on the industrial life of the upper Wateree and the Catawba. Their corn, wheat, rye, cattle and hogs, turnips, milk and butter, were the products of a simple but complete back country in-

¹⁷ JC, May 4, 1757, above, p. 105. Simpson's company probably included the men on Beaver Creek and nearby. For the landless settlers see paths on plats, P, V, 49, 144, 149.

¹⁸ JC, Apr. 5, 1753 (letter of Steill), *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 141-144b, 363, 574, 784, VI, 58.

dustry—so complete that it even included the whiskey with which to brace their spirits or fuddle their wits without recourse to the low country rum. A larger industry—probably more a hope for the future than an achievement of the present—is outlined by the petition of the Wateree inhabitants of 1752 in which they asked for a road to the Catawba nation. They declared it would open a considerable trade with the settlements on the Catawba and Yadkin in flour, butter, cheese, hemp, flax and flax seed. In addition to Pinson's mill on Rocky Creek, there was the gristmill of James Lynah which appears on a plat of 1756 on Singletons Creek, below the Waxhaws. The conference with the Catawbans in 1754 shows the existence of another mill, perhaps above the Catawba towns. Probably the best customers that these settlers had for their surplus were the newcomers, but there was doubtless a considerable export likewise. A certain McLaney of Fishing Creek was at Pinetree Hill with his wagon on his way to Charleston in 1760 when the Cherokees attacked his home and killed his wife and daughter.¹⁹

The inventories of Robert and James McCorkle, the one of 1757 and the other of 1760, add considerably to the scanty descriptions of the economy and of conditions of life in the Waxhaws. Both men, or rather, men of both names, were in Pickens' company, and all the names in the inventories are of Waxhaw settlers. Both lists include twenty or twenty-five head of cattle and several horses, but together only ten hogs. James had a cart, Robert a plow, plow irons, and "her" gears. Robert's inventory carried two mattocks, a weeding hoe, a sickle, three axes, a band saw, cooper's tools, and some plank. For household comforts he had one bed, a trunk, two iron pots and a pot rack, a frying pan, pewter, delph ware and wooden dishes, with two dozen spoons, and eight knives and forks. He had two Bibles. Most of James McCorkle's property seems to be listed as already sold at a vendue, seven gallons and two quarts of whiskey being expended on the occasion. Much of the property was in cattle, but included was a "chist", a coat and "wescoat", a pair of shears, and some firearms.²⁰

The Waxhaws, like Williamsburg and the Welsh Tract, affords striking evidence that it required a closely-knit community to found a church, and that in turn the church was a powerful factor in binding together as well as improving the settlement. Between 1753 and 1755 both the Charleston Presbytery and the northern Presbyterians sent ministers through the settlement to preach. In November 1755, one of these, Hugh McAden, after a trip across to Broad River, returned and preached to a congregation which was evidently the beginning of Fishing Creek Church, then crossed the Catawba and preached in the Waxhaw meeting house. In

¹⁹ JC, Apr. 6, 1756, *SCG*, Sept. 27, 1760; JCHA, May 9, Dec. 12, 1752, P, VI, 258. Note the acts providing for Wateree and Catawba roads, above, p. 106.

²⁰ Will Books (Anson County, N. C.), I.

March 1757, Robert Miller, "min^r of the Waxaws", bought a tract of land on which was an old cabin, but in February of the next year simply as Mr. Robert Miller, with his wife, he resold the cabin and the land except four and a half acres. This latter tract, with a house for divine worship and a retiring house, he gave by deed a few weeks later to Robert Davies, Robert Ramsay, John Linn, Samuel Dunlap, and Henry White, planters, for the use of the Waxhaw Presbyterian congregation. The deed mentioned a spring on the lot. Miller and his wife Jean reserved the seat at the left of the north entrance, the seat to be four feet long and to be paid for at the same rate as the others then rented in the church.²¹

The short-lived ministry, which thus came to an end with such apparent good feeling on the part of Miller, began with the church's appeal to the Charleston Presbytery for a minister and the licensing by that body of this probationer, a Scotch schoolmaster. In June 1758 Miller was deposed by the Presbytery on the charge of adultery. Within a year the church called William Richardson, an Englishman educated at the University of Glasgow and a student of theology under Samuel Davies of Virginia. He had recently been ordained by the Hanover Presbytery of Virginia as missionary to the Cherokees, but had given up the task as hopeless almost as soon as appointed. His widely extended ministry, lasting till his death in 1771, did much to make the Waxhaws the Presbyterian center of the South Carolina back country. The church stood near the point where the old Catawba path crossed the new path to Land's ford, and was only a mile and a half from the river. During the next decade settlers even forebore their usual search for river and creek bottoms and took up every foot of land near the church. The Presbyterian congregation on Fishing Creek evidently joined the Waxhaw Church in calling Richardson, and a plat surveyed on the creek in 1763 shows paths to the meeting house.²²

So varied had been the social types of the newer South Carolina communities, so gradual the drift of the settlement process away from the plantation and trading post types of the early royal period toward non-staple and non-commercial communities, that there were probably few in the province who realized that the Waxhaw settlement had any significance save for trade and frontier defense. In one way or another the dominant planter and merchant group of the tidewater had a powerful grip upon each of the preceding settlements, whether by its staple crop, slave labor, fear of the Indians or French, or by the low country origin of its settlers. But two-thirds or three-fourths of the settlers of the upper Wateree and Catawba came from the north, among them nearly all the leaders of the region, and their slaves were negligible in number. The absence of economic ties, however, promised to be less serious than social and political

²¹ Deed Books (Anson County, N. C.), V, 12, 125, 136-137; Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, I, 286-288.

²² *Ibid.*, 287-293, 297-298, 336, 417, P, VII, 339.

differences, for already there was a small sale from the upper valley of the products of the dairy and of the farm. It was the strengthening of South Carolina Presbyterianism and its connections with the north that constituted a real threat to the tidewater system.

The valley of Lynches River above the sand hills made a small and somewhat isolated area, which because of its position and scanty resources played a minor part in the colonial life of South Carolina. In 1750 Robert Stuart, from the Jerseys, and John Middleton whose family had six slaves, applied for warrants near the mouth of Buffalo Creek, a branch of the main stream, Middleton explaining that his father before his death had built a house and made improvements there. In 1752 William McKee from the northward, who had a white servant in his family, applied for a warrant which was surveyed on a branch of the south fork, or Little Lynches River, which rises so far to the west that it interlaces with the waters of the Catawba. The Catawba path crossed this creek where a hundred-foot cliff and the great Hanging Rock overhung the stream, and McKee's plat included the rock.²³

A contemporary historian of the Baptists stated that about 1754 nineteen members of the Welsh Neck congregation moved to this region and in September 1755 formed a church. Henry Ledbetter was their first pastor and James Smart his assistant, both men being originally from Virginia. Edward Boykin and his son Henry were made deacons; Ledbetter and Smart both applied for warrants on November 6, 1755 and the plat of the former was surveyed on the south fork. Edward Boykin and William DeLoach appear among the landholders of the Peedee section, and DeLoach and Henry Boykin now had warrants surveyed on Little Lynches. The church built in 1757 was probably on the east side of the main fork, but a few years later was rebuilt near the mouth of Flat Creek across the river. The rectors of Prince Frederick's occasionally visited this as other nearby settlements.²⁴

The names of several settlers taking out warrants for land on these upper waters indicate that some of them were from the communities on the Black River and nearby stretches of Lynches River. John Pickens, however, came from Virginia with the Waxhaw group of settlers. He bought land on the west side of the Catawba in 1755 from Robert McClenachan, but two years later resold the tract to its former owner, meanwhile in 1756 applying to the South Carolina government for two hundred

²³ JC, Aug. 10, 1750. For Stuart, see P, VI, 1, 227 (plat of John "Perkins"), JC, Nov. 6, 1755 (David Anderson); for Middleton, and James Clark, a neighbor, JC, Aug. 10, 1750, Jan. 8, 1752, P, V, 390, VI, 227, 418, VII, 10; for McKee, JC, Dec. 5, 1752, P, V, 383.

²⁴ Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, pp. 95-96, JC, Feb. 8, 1746, Nov. 6, 1755, P, V, 59, 169, VI, 121, 146 VII, 162; *Register . . . Prince Frederick*, pp. 33, 36, 39 (Hewet, Dial, Clark, Cantey). Smart in 1759 moved to the Coosawhatchie and became minister of that church (see above, p. 75).

acres on Lynches River. The survey the next year, on a branch of the south fork, showed a mill and pond apparently complete. In 1759 he was a justice of the peace advertising strayed horses and cattle, but described himself as living on the north fork.²⁵

From 1752 to the end of 1758 surveying of land on the two forks of the river and their branches went on slowly but steadily, finally amounting to at least fifteen thousand acres, over half of it on Little Lynches and its chief tributary, Hanging Rock Creek. There were a number of other grants of uncertain location that might have increased the total by a third. The militia organization of 1757 included two companies, one on each fork, that on the south branch having fifty white men and sixteen slaves, the other fifty-three whites and five slaves. The few hints as to the occupation of these men point to stock raising as their chief support—"this range" is the phrase used by Pickens in 1759.²⁶

²⁵ See, for instance, index to Plats for Thomas Crawford, Robert Allison, John Lide, Thomas Dial, and William Cantey. For Cantey see also *SCG*, Apr. 2, 1763 (advt. of John Pickens). For Pickens see above, p. 124, Deed Books, (Anson County, N. C.), I, 280, 390; JC, Dec. 7, 1756, P, VII, 379; *SCG*, May 5, 12, 1759.

²⁶ JC, May 4, 1757; *SCG*, Jan. 12, Sept. 8, 1759, Feb. 14, 1761, Nov. 5, 1763 (advts. of Pickens).

CHAPTER XII

THE DUTCH FORK AND UPPER BROAD RIVER

The valley of Broad River, the largest in the South Carolina piedmont, opened upon the Congaree gateway, the most important interior point in the province. Its development, however, was somewhat slower than that of the basins of either the Saluda or Wateree, for it had neither township nor Indian trade path from Charleston to attract settlers and to direct them along its course. Furthermore, its lower portion for twenty miles or more, like that of the Saluda, is generally narrow, with small creek valleys opening from it, and the soil, derived from the prevailing slate, is neither so fertile nor so easily cultivated as the red clay land beyond.¹

On the Saluda, above Twelve Mile Creek and the scantily settled corner of Saxe Gotha, a certain John Gibson and several Germans established themselves between 1747 and 1749. Michael Taylor, one of the Virginians who petitioned in 1746 for the purchase of the Ninety Six lands, described himself in 1749 as a weaver and had his plat surveyed on the south bank of the Saluda. On the same day two other Virginians, James Scott and William Jenkins, applied for tracts on the south bank, and Scott apparently kept a boat for the convenience of travellers who came by the path approaching the northern side. Samuel Lines, a native of the province who in 1745 was living on Raifords Creek, moved to Beaverdam Creek, near Scott's home.²

The first settlement between the Broad and the Saluda was the result of the partial exhaustion by the bounty immigrants of the good land in Saxe Gotha, and in 1749 other Germans appear near the earlier settlers. Farther up the Saluda, on High Hill Creek and on Bear Creek, two Germans and several Englishmen had plats surveyed, among them Robert Steill, the Congaree trader, and two soldiers recently discharged from the independent companies.³ On the west bank of the Broad, at a ford and island four miles above its mouth, Thomas Brown had two hundred and

¹ See below, n. 5.

² P, IV, 382, V, 63, JC, Feb. 5, 1750; for Taylor, see above, p. 123, P, V, 101 ("above the Congrees"); for Scott and Jenkins, see JC, Mar. 2, 1749, P, V, 104, and for location plat of Jackson, see Lines; for Lines, see Map 3, JC, Apr. 7, 1752, P, VII, 180.

³ Above, p. 56; for High Hill Creek, see P, IV, 423, 426, 456, 462, 467, 475-476; for Bear Creek, and location of those plats, see JC, Aug. 2, 1749, and, in order, plats of Jackson, Brown, Long, Frymouth, Warle, Myer, and Rome (P, V, 236, IV, 493, 448, 463, 431, V, 54).

fifty acres surveyed. Samuel Hollenshed, a blacksmith from New Jersey and Virginia, made his home and carried on his trade on the west side of the river at the mouth of the creek which came to be known by his name, and by 1750 a dozen Germans had settled on both sides of the river below Cedar Creek, one of them having three slaves in his headrights.⁴

There was no great attraction for settlers on the lower Broad, however, and hardly had the handful of earlier immigrants brought the settlements as far as Little River than other newcomers overran the red clay lands above quite to the Tyger.⁵ Purmont Carey and John Hughes, former companions-in-arms in one of the independent companies, now chose to be neighbors, settling themselves at the mouth of Little River, while Daniel Rees, a blacksmith from Pennsylvania, obtained a warrant for three hundred acres and settled higher up on the same stream. Likewise to this river there came during the 'fifties Solomon McGraw, Richard Spencer and James Leslie, former settlers on Raifords Creek, and James Andrews who had been some years in the province.⁶ Near Wilkinsons Creek, a few miles above, Thomas Conoway of Virginia, who declared he had been living on the north side of the Broad for four years, and Conrad Alder, who had two slaves and said he had been long a resident of the colony, had tracts surveyed on warrants issued in 1749.⁷ Two Pennsylvanians, Thomas Owen and Lawrence Free, and Free's "former acquaintance" Jacob Canomore, in 1752 petitioned for land on the creek. Three years later Owen had a tract with a mill on it surveyed adjoining his land. Here settled Ann Hancock, after being barbarously treated by her husband in Virginia and finally deserted by him.⁸

On the south side of the Broad, Wateree Creek was the first large stream which settlers found in their northward movement. Elisha Atkinson and John Taylor, recently discharged soldiers who had to sign their names by mark, Alexander Deley, who had lately married a German immi-

⁴ P, IV, 316 (Brown); JC, Mar. 5, 6, 1751, P, V, 122 (Hollenshed); JC, Nov. 11, 1749, P, IV, 459 (Stocker and Derer); P, IV, 385 (Burekhard), 386 (Appeal), 457-458 (Geiger, Blackvelder, Weaver); JC, Mar. 16, 1749, P, IV, 524 (Kuntzler); P, V, 222 (Cranmar); P, V, 74 (Bookman, Pushart); 178 (Frantz); 182 (Hogheim). Note also Peter Rentfro, at the mouth of Turkeycock, now Nicholas Creek (P, V, 158, JC, Mar. 16, 1749). He seems to have been in Augusta County Virginia in 1749 (Chalkley, *Chronicles*, I, 23, 28).

⁵ See Bennett, *Soils of the Southern States*, pp. 164-166, Bureau of Soils, Fairfield, Richland, Newberry, Lexington.

⁶ JCHA, Feb. 6, 1736; JC, Sept. 6, Oct. 19, Nov. 7, 1749, Apr. 7, 1752, Apr. 6, 1756, June 5, 1759; P, IV, 478, V, 143, 303, 311, VI, 10, 56, 65 (path to Rees), above, Map 3. Note also Martha Howell on Cowpen Branch of Little River (P, VII, 28), path to Philip Raiford (P, VI, 54), and Reese names in the Congarees (Map 3, and Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, p. 145, n. 70).

⁷ Conoway—JC, June 6, 1749; note names of creeks in P, V, 448, and VI, 64 and 65 (Owen and Harris); Alder—JC, May 2, 1749, see plat of "Cornelius" Alder, P, IX, 8, and for location of this plat see V, 459 (plat of Vansant).

⁸ JC, June 6, 1749, June 2, Sept. 1, 1752, P, V, 53, 448, VI, 64, 65 (path on Harris' plat), VI, 305.

grant, and Mary King, widow of a corporal in the garrison of the new Congaree fort, were given warrants which were surveyed on or near this creek.⁹ Immediately above two similar streams invited immigrants. On the nearest John Gregory from New Jersey and his illiterate son Benjamin settled in 1748, the latter planning to make flour. Peter Crim had a survey on the Santee in Amelia in 1738. Five years later he engaged in a Cherokee mine venture, and was reported to be overseer of the work. In 1750 he applied for two hundred and fifty acres which was surveyed at the mouth of the creek adjoining Benjamin Gregory, and the stream thereafter was known as Crims Creek. Andrew Holman, a foreign Protestant who came by way of Philadelphia the same year, in like manner gave his name to a tributary a mile above, where he said he planted three kinds of wheat. In the wide lowland at the mouth of Cannons Creek Herman Geiger of the Congarees in 1749 had a tract surveyed, and an adjoining plat run out the next year for Hans Jacob Morf was crossed by a path to Geiger's cowpen. In February 1750 John Cannon petitioned for land on the headrights of nine children, a servant, his wife and himself. The survey two months later showed two houses on the land.¹⁰

The Enoree and the Tyger, for some miles above the points at which they empty themselves into Broad River, have narrow and steep valleys, but at six or seven miles distance one comes to Kings Creek on the Enoree, the first of a series of tributaries. Early settlers evidently found this network of small valleys with their clear streams and fertile cane-covered bottoms unusually inviting. "The canebrake" was the name given to one of the tracts first settled on the west side of the Enoree just above the mouth of Indian Creek. Easy access to this region was offered by the ford over the Broad a mile and a half above the mouth of the Enoree—at first called John Lee's ford, but later Lyles's.¹¹ In or about 1748 a settler named King made his new home on the north side of the Enoree near the mouth of Indian Creek. He soon died and his widow Mary, rendered uneasy by surveys near her, in 1750 applied for a warrant on the headrights of herself and six children. In consideration of her poverty this was given her without requiring her appearance in Charleston. The plat showed her house set on the edge of the low ground of the river and near a spring. On "Collins River" as the Enoree was known for several years, Samuel Collins applied for land in September 1750, stating that he had already made

⁹ JC, Aug. 2, Sept. 6, Nov. 7, 1749; P, V, 196, 267 (plat of Walthour), VI, 14 (note that this plat adjoins Fisher, and see his plat—V, 225—adjoining Walthour).

¹⁰ Gregory—JC, Oct. 3, 1749 and see path on P, V, 184; Crim—P, IV, 210, V, 220, PR, XXI, 262 (deposition of Michael Christopher Rowe, enclosed by Council Committee to Board, Apr. 24, 1744); Holman—P, V, 184, 486, JC, Mar. 6, 1750; Geiger and Cannon—above, pp. 55-56, 63, JC, Feb. 5, 1750, P, V, 38, 243, 278.

¹¹ See Jacob Pennington's will (n. 12); P, V, 380, VIII, 209; Mills, *Atlas of S. C.*, Newberry.

improvements to provide for his wife and six children whom he expected shortly by sea from New Jersey.¹²

A path to John Linvell's, traced on a plat surveyed for John Heigler on the north side of the Enoree in 1750, indicates the origin of the name Linvells River by which the Tyger was first known.¹³ Jacob Pennington and Gilbert Gilder came from Pennsylvania and in February 1749 obtained warrants which were surveyed, the one in the cane-covered Enoree river bottom, the other on the Broad; Gilder however made his home on or near Indian Creek. Abraham Pennington, brother of Jacob, settled opposite Samuel Collins perhaps as early as 1750, and in March of that year Nicholas Boater asked for four hundred and fifty acres to enable him to plant wheat, the occupation to which he had been bred; his survey included the mouth of Indian Creek.¹⁴ Duncans Creek, the next of the numerous western tributaries above Indian Creek, apparently received its name from a certain Duncan who was living there at least as early as August 1752. The first of the name to apply for land was John Duncan in 1754. Two plats on the Tyger surveyed in 1753 showed North Carolina grants adjoining.¹⁵

Thus between 1749 and 1751 settlers from the Carolina low country and from the north, two or three to each creek, had staked off the upper Broad region for the white man, but the Indian troubles during the latter year reduced to a handful the number who came to the region above Crims Creek and Little River. In 1752 settlement began again, but the chief accessions for the next few years were not from the British colonies to the north, but from the German states, the continuation of a movement having its beginnings in 1749. John Jacob Riemensperger, undaunted by the disastrous outcome of his first return to Europe in 1740 as immigration agent, four years later offered to make another trip to bring back some of his Swiss countrymen. He asked the provincial administration to pay the passages of the expected immigrants, but nothing came of his application until he renewed it in 1748 after the close of the Austrian Succession War. He was then promised payment of his own passage to England, fifteen

¹² For King, see JC, Apr. 3, 1750, P, V, 474; Wills, 1757-1763, pp. 324-325. For the location note the Bentley (or Bensley) and Garret tracts (P, V, 270, VI, 25, X, 195); for Collins, see JC, Sept. 4, 1750, P, VI, 309; the plat was surveyed on the north side of the river in what is now called the Horseshoe, opposite the mouth of Kings Creek.

¹³ P, V, 112, 179, 364, JC, June 6, 1753; it was likewise called Woodalls River; there was a John Woodall on Kings Creek in 1769 (P, V, 312, XI, 322). Reference to David Tyger in the Enoree-Tyger community appears in 1760 (JC, Feb. 11). Among the Tyger River headrights of 1751 was one slave (JC, Nov. 1, 1751, P, V, 268).

¹⁴ JC, Feb. 2, 1749, Mar. 6, 1750, Feb. 4, 1752; P, IV, 499, V, 41, 114, 436, VI, 17, 309; above, p. 128; Wills, 1753-1763, pp. 324-325, 1774-1779, pp. 169-170.

¹⁵ P, V, 237 (path on Hamitt's plat), JC, Mar. 5, 1754. For North Carolina surveys see P, V, 364 (and note on this plat "Path to Padgetts"—doubtless the origin of the name of the nearby Padgetts Creek), XII, 95, JC, Apr. 5, 1753.

guineas for purchase of clothes for himself, and one shilling sterling a head for all foreign Protestants whom he should get to settle in South Carolina. In April he announced that he had forty letters from the Germans to their friends and relatives, and was ready to depart.¹⁶

In October 1749 Riemensperger arrived with a hundred and thirty-two German Protestants who came as freemen, besides others who had to become servants in payment of their passage. "Palatines" they were called, but they probably were part of the six hundred Württemberg Lutherans for whom he had vainly besought aid from the British government. Riemensperger declared to the governor and assembly that from Germany and Switzerland he had engaged upwards of three thousand persons, but had, by a series of misadventures, lost most of them to other places, chiefly Pennsylvania. In London he had asked for his party the privilege of settling above Saxe Gotha "where land is better", doubtless having in mind the Crims Creek section, the first large body of very desirable land on the Broad, and a region already known to the promoter.¹⁷ The crown discouraged his suggestion, but the South Carolina governor and council gave his immigrants, along with the bounty, warrants for land "in or near Saxe Gotha" which carried the ten-year exemption from quit rents, despite the fact that none of them was surveyed in the township. John Adam Epting and ten others, with headrights amounting to forty-seven persons, chose Crims Creek; another settled on Wateree Creek, three miles below.¹⁸

Three years after the arrival of this group of settlers it was learned that Foster, Cunliffe and Sons of Liverpool had taken on board ship about fifteen hundred Germans bound for South Carolina. To the consternation of their Charleston consignees it developed that the English firm and its Rotterdam agents "led into a very great Error by some Officious Person or another", expected to receive the passage money, presumably from the provincial government, when the immigrants were landed. It does not appear that Riemensperger or the other South Carolina German agents were immediately responsible for this migration or the blunder of the shippers, but the circumstances indicate that it was their energetic advertising that started the exodus. The consignees estimated that only one-fourth could be disposed of as indented servants; with this resource quickly exhausted they released the remaining Germans after taking bond for payment. The immigrants were then entitled to their lands and bounty, but

¹⁶ Above, p. 55, JC, Nov. 29, 1744, Mar. 9, Apr. 21, 27, 1748.

¹⁷ JC, Oct. 16, 17, 19, 22, 1749, JCHA, Dec. 1, 1749, PR, XXIII, 283-286, 299-318 (Board Journal, May 30, 31, 1749, Riemensperger's petition, May 8, Board's report, June 5, Board to Bedford, June 2, his reply, June 7, 1749). In 1748 Riemensperger stated that he had a stock of cattle on the east side of the Broad, forty miles from the Congarees in charge of his son-in-law John Frasier, and asked 500 acres there for Frasier and himself (JC, Apr. 21, 1748). For Frasier see also Map 3, JC, Oct. 3, 1749, P, V, 60.

¹⁸ JC, Oct. 16, 17, 1749; P, V, 187, 190, 193, 197, 199, 201, 203, 209, 231, IX, 378.

the township fund speedily fell short of the demands upon it, and though a loan of the four hundred pounds in the ship-building bounty in part met the emergency, the later arrivals received, for the time being, only a portion of what was due them.¹⁹

From September 1752 to March of the following year the governor and council received the land petitions of these immigrants amounting to twelve hundred and fifty headrights. The clause of the act of 1751 allowing the bounty only to those settling within forty miles of the coast had been repealed on the governor's request and the warrants were given for lands throughout the western half of the province, some of them in the townships. Despite the fact that only the township settlers were given the ten-year exemption from quit rents, the great majority settled outside; these were allowed, however, the provincial exemption for ten years from taxes.

Four of the petitioners stated that they came from Württemberg or nearby, one that he was from the upper parts of Germany, and another that he was from Germany, but the rest were silent as to their origin. In 1846 a Lutheran minister, after thirteen years residence in the Saluda valley, stated that the oldest inhabitants declared "their ancestors chiefly came from the neighborhood of the Rhine, Baden and Wurtemberg".²⁰ Some of the petitions gave the purposes of the applicants in coming to South Carolina: a score declared that they came in order to join friends and relatives; a dozen roundly asserted that they had come to live in a country of liberty, or a free Protestant land; a smaller number admitted that the bounty had drawn them; several stated that they came to make their fortune, and Rosina Barbara Ralgebin, the only one of her name and family, said that she was "Desirous to see more of the World". Some, no doubt, anticipated the lot which fell to Barbara Powmin and others. When Adam Hover heard of the arrival of the immigrants on one of the first ships, he came down from his home on Crims Creek with several of his friends "to purchase some of them", and meeting Barbara he forthwith engaged her for marriage.²¹

Peter Beckeli stated that he was a Catholic, and was informed that he could not get the bounty "unless he renounced the Errors of the Roman", but no apparent objection was made to giving admittance or land to him or to the four other men of his faith who came after him. In the course of the proceedings, the Reverend Mr. Zubly announced that after several conversations with the Catholics four of them had accepted Protestantism, and

¹⁹ JC, Sept. 1, 22, Nov. 25, 1752, Jan. 11, 1753; JCHA, Sept. 27, Nov. 22, Dec. 12, 1752.

²⁰ JC, Oct. 20, 30, Nov. 7, 1752, Ernest L. Hazelius, *History of the American Lutheran Church* (Zanesville, O., 1846), pp. 26, 239. See also, Urlsperger, *Nachrichten (Ackerwerk)*, pt. 4, 259, Voigt, *German Element*, p. 12.

²¹ JC, Oct. 3, Nov. 29, 1752, P, V, 234 ("Haubert"), 500.

the others appear to have done likewise, for their grants were marked as being on the bounty.²²

In 1755 Joseph Crell, back in the Congarees for a short time, declared that the recent German immigrants to South Carolina were "poor and of the meaner Sort", and asked encouragement for himself as an agent for bringing in a better type of settlers. Crell's charge is supported in 1754 by the complaint of the wardens and vestry of St. Philip's, Charleston, that the great number of beggars in the town was "chiefly occasioned by the Importation of many old and Impotent Palatines . . . , who not being able to get Masters, the Merchants agents had been obliged to take their Bonds and let them go at large". It is clear that the host imported by the Foster-Cunliffe firm lacked the outstanding leaders who came to the townships, and that it contained a far larger proportion of poor and shiftless than did the earlier Swiss migration; nevertheless there is no evidence that the great majority were inferior to the average of the English and Scotch settlers.²³

Tracing these twelve or thirteen hundred Germans to their new homes is a difficult task, for the warrants specified no place, and the uncertain rendering of the German names by the English clerks often made effective disguise. However, a check of the plats and grants locates all but forty of the petitioners, who represented only about ten per cent of the immigrants. At least a fourth of the total are discovered in the valleys of the large creeks in the red clay lands west of Broad River. Of these Cannons Creek was the first choice, with Crims Creek, Second Creek immediately above Cannons, and Wateree Creek attracting smaller numbers. With some the desire to be near their friends and relatives obviously outweighed the attractions of land and water, and their plats are found on high ground. There is a hint in this that these were Württembergers, following Hans Adam Epting and his fellows who had come there three years before. Above Second Creek only a few ventured, but Andreas Power and John George Wells had their plats surveyed on Indian Creek, and Christopher Jacob Dues and Jacob Hayle found land on Padgetts Creek and were apparently the first to make South Carolina surveys on that stream.²⁴ The

²² JC, Oct. 20, Nov. 7, 28, 1752, Feb. 7, Mar. 23, 1753, and see above, p. 40, n. 19. Two of the petitions were made after Zubly's report (Nov. 28); four of the men had wives. It is thus not clear how many Catholics there were, or how many became Protestant. (Compare Grants, V, 446, VI, 143, 354, VIII, 214).

²³ JC, Feb. 4, 1755, JCHA, Feb. 2, 1754. For Crell, see above, pp. 55-57, John George Kreps, or Krepsin, had 21 chests of baggage (JC, Nov. 7, 1752; his land was surveyed on Beaverdam Creek, on the south side of the Saluda—P, V, 480). The clerk recorded no signatures to the land petitions of these immigrants as made by mark, but the unusual circumstances make this evidence uncertain.

²⁴ JC, Oct. 3, Nov. 7, 1752, Feb. 7, Mar. 23, 1753; P, V, 481, 483, VI, 95, XII, 132.

slate land on the west side of the Broad below Wateree Creek was practically ignored, but the north side of the Saluda a few miles away, which had the same type of soil and an equally scanty population of German and English settlers, attracted a tenth or more of the newcomers. This was doubtless due to the fact that the slopes here were gentler and streams somewhat larger than those of the lower Broad. Camping Creek, the largest, was selected by a dozen families. The opposite side of the Saluda received no more than a total of fifty settlers, the north side of the Broad only half as many, and a few others went to other portions of the back country.

Save for the upper west side of the Broad, however, Amelia Township offered the chief attraction—the excellent soil, scanty settlement, and exemption from quit rents apparently outweighing the opportunity to live among the three hundred or more of their countrymen on the upper waters. A hundred and sixty or more settled here, and Orangeburg drew half as many. Nearly a hundred were established on the waters of the Coosawhatchie and Salkehatchie, and a score perhaps below Amelia and Orangeburg.²⁵

Over a third of the Germans who settled in the middle and back country between 1748 and 1759 came in this migration of 1752. Until 1756 they continued to arrive at the rate of two or three hundred a year, but thereafter the number of petitions fell off sharply and, save for the group which came in 1764, practically ceased with the outbreak of the Cherokee War. The movement of Germans from the north was negligible.

The total number of petitions of the Germans between 1748 and 1759 was slightly over thirteen hundred, representing about thirty-seven hundred headrights. The place of settlement of a fifth of these has not been located but of the remainder sixteen hundred settled on the branches of the Broad and Saluda, nearly seven hundred in Amelia and Orangeburg and immediately below those townships, about three hundred on the Congaree, and an equal number on the Salkehatchie and Coosawhatchie. The Wateree, the upper Savannah and Purrysburg each attracted from twenty-five to fifty. Of the seven hundred or more whose place of settlement is not established a number may have failed to take up their warrants and remained in Charleston; the others, concealed under different renderings of their names, were doubtless distributed throughout the middle and back country in somewhat the same proportions as their brothers.

The compactness of German settlement in the forks of the Broad and Saluda made possible a church organization, and it was for the service of these settlers that the Reverend John Gasser left Switzerland in 1752. Coming by way of Pennsylvania he did not reach Charleston to petition

²⁵ See above, pp. 45, 50, 75.

for land until February 1754, but at that time he had agreed with the settlers to preach in two churches, one in the lower part of the fork and the other farther up. He was given the bounty, as was his servant, John Crebs, whom he had recently freed. His fifty acre plat was surveyed about three miles from the mouth of Crims Creek, and about a mile above the junction of Holmans Creek with that stream, a spot convenient for this and the nearby German settlements. The church seems to have been organized at once, but in April Gasser presented a petition, signed by about forty persons, stating that bad crops and the expenses of settlement made it impossible for the people to support a minister and schoolmaster, and asking permission to make a general collection from the province.²⁶ It was probably on account of these troubles that the minister soon after returned to Switzerland. In 1763, however, Epting and Peter Dickert, as elders of the dissenting congregation on Crims Creek, applied for a hundred acres for a meeting house and glebe for the minister. The warrant was executed on land adjoining Gasser's, the plat showing the church complete with steeple, evidently on or near the site of the present St. John's Lutheran Church, with roads running to it from four directions.²⁷

In 1760 and 1761 a very different group of worshippers, near the mouth of the Saluda, achieved an unenviable notoriety. Jacob Weber was a Switzer, brought up in the Reformed church. After a season of depression, then another of faith and exaltation, he fell into the delusion that he was the Deity. Among the few associates he collected around him one became the Son, another the Holy Spirit, and a third, John George Smithpeter, the devil, whom the others eventually murdered. Weber, Hannah Weber, John Geiger, and Jacob Burghart were tried in Charleston and condemned to death for the crime, but only Jacob Weber was executed. Lutheran and Anglican vied with each other in driving home the lessons of this tale, each using it for his own purpose, and the frenzy of the luckless handful of settlers was dignified into "the Weber heresy".²⁸

The English settlers were first on the ground in nearly all parts of the Broad and Saluda region, but after the German tide set in at any point English settlement nearly or completely ceased. In the lower Saluda valley there were a score of English headrights between 1752 and 1759, on the Broad below Wateree Creek and Cedar Creek, about twice as many. The scanty resources of this region make it improbable that any considerable number of English settlers would have chosen it, even if there had

²⁶ JC, Feb. 5, Apr. 2, 1754, P, IX, 456. In May 1754 John George Loeff "being a minister of the Gospel", applied for land about the Congarees, but nothing more appears about him (JC, May 7, 1754).

²⁷ Faust, *Lists*, I, 10, JC, Mar. 1, 1763, P, V, 338, VIII, 346, IX, 456.

²⁸ PR, XXIX, 80-82 (Bull to Pitt, Apr. 26, 1761), *SCG*, Apr. 25, 1761, Bernheim, *German Settlements*, pp. 195-205. For the location see plats of Derer (P, IV, 459), Burkard (IV, 385), Geiger (V, 463), and "Smithpader" (V, 495).

been no Germans, but between Wateree Creek and Second Creek, in one of the most desirable spots in the province, only about thirty English headrights were represented in petitions and plats. There is no evidence of any hostility between the two peoples, nor as yet any migration of the earlier English settlers from the German district, but later comers of either race chose districts inhabited by settlers speaking their own tongue.

Between 1752 and 1759 a hundred and sixty men of British name applied for land on the waters of the Broad, their headrights amounting to nearly six hundred and fifty persons. Less than fifty of these headrights were for land below Wateree Creek and Cedar Creek. Above these streams Indian Creek was the first choice throughout the period and attracted a hundred settlers; the Enoree itself received about eighty. On Wilkinsons Creek and the other branches on the north side of the Broad, but below Sandy River, were located plats amounting to a hundred and forty headrights, while on the latter stream about forty settlers were established, chiefly in 1758 and 1759. Surveys were made on Tyger River and its tributary Fairforest Creek as early as 1752. By 1759 the headrights on the former were about sixty, while on the latter there were a score. The English population of the valley of the Broad, as indicated by the land records, was between nine hundred and a thousand.²⁹ They were thus outnumbered two to one by the Germans who had settled among them on the middle waters of this river.

As settlement advanced along the Broad and its branches mills were set up in the manner characteristic of other back country communities. The first mentioned was on Wilkinsons Creek in 1752; the next year Peter Crim had one on Crims Creek, and Isaac Pennington later owned two on the Enoree. Indirect rather than direct evidence indicates that corn was the usual crop, but wheat was commonly grown. Though slaves were few, Pennington bequeathed two and Crim had three.³⁰

The most important of the later settlers was the elder John Pearson, formerly of the Congarees, who was captain of the militia company of the Congaree forks in 1757 and appears to have been living then on Broad

²⁹ The militia list of JC, May 4, 1757 does not give location of companies for a satisfactory check of this figure. John Pearson's company "In the Congaree Forks" had 134 whites and 40 slaves; the company of James "Lassley" (Leslie—see above, p. 148) on Broad River had 76 whites and 9 slaves; and that of Fink (whose first name is not given) on the south side of the Saluda, 40 whites. It is thus impossible to distinguish between these and the Congaree-Saxe Gotha companies; the total militia returns, however, appear to be far short of the headrights.

³⁰ For Pennington and Crim see JC, Apr. 2, 1754, P, VIII, 636, Wills, 1757-1763, pp. 324-325, *SCG*, Dec. 19, 1761 (adv't. of Margaret Mint); for other mills, note P, V, 423, VI, 29, 64, 65, X, 248, XII, 167. For wheat see above, pp. 149, 150, P, VIII, 346, and the following references (the name and the figure following are from *Stats.*, IV, the figures in parenthesis are the Plats volume and page locating the name): Conrade Volk, 120 (VIII, 635); Felix Grose [Cronx], 121 (VIII, 64); Adam Summers, 121 (V, 338); Henry Heartley, 121 (VIII, 346); John Sheely, 121 (V, 332); Conrad Shire, 121 (VII, 400); John Cannon, 122 (V, 278).

River. When he became bankrupt in 1766 and his thirteen hundred acres was advertised for sale, his home was on the west side of the river above the mouth of Crims Creek, where a high ridge rises from a narrow bottom and affords a splendid view of the valley. Two other former settlers of Raifords Creek—Evan Rees and Philip Raiford, Junior—had plats surveyed on the north side of the river; the latter was living there, near Wilkinsons Creek, in 1755.³¹

Pearson's letters were well worded though badly spelled, and in the beautiful script of the trained penman of the day; those of his son Philip were nearly as good. Both Philip and his brother John were born after their father settled at the Congarees, and of the latter it was said that "Under the instruction of his father, & with a little school education, he became a very good English scholar." In 1758 John Fairchild surveyed a plat of two hundred acres on a branch of Indian Creek for Abel Anderson, and at one point of the line wrote the word "Schoolhouse". No other reference to the "school" appears, but as the plat was in the midst of the Anderson, Pennington and King settlement, the suggestion is clear that these men sought to provide something more than the simple home instruction which was the only recourse for most of the back country. Between this time and the Revolution references appear to three different streams named Schoolhouse Branch, one flowing into the Tyger, one into Duncans Creek, and a third into Padgets Creek, but none could well have touched Abel Anderson's land.³² Six of the English applicants for land on the Broad and lower Saluda were unable to sign their names and two others who were recorded as signing land petitions, on some other occasion made their marks. Five of the eight signatures to the wills of Mary Pennington and John Cannon were made by mark, although the number must be discounted because of the possible infirmity of the principals.³³

On the east side of the Broad a handful of settlers from Pennsylvania, among them Thomas Owen, Jacob Canomore and Lawrence Free, joined by Richard Gregory, from the Wateree valley, with his father and brother, made the nucleus of two small Seventh-Day Baptist congregations of uncertain history and identity, organized probably about the same time. John Pearson, in the absence of an ordained minister, served both churches in the capacity of exhorter or lay preacher. Two letters of Pearson written in 1764 reveal his intense religious interest and activity. In his household he held prayers morning and evening, and on the fifth of May he

³¹ For Pearson see below, p. 163, P, V, 410, *SCG*, June 9, 1766, JC, Apr. 2, 1754, May 4, 1757, *Indian Books*, II, pt. 2, 63, *Wills*, 1760-1767, p. 132. For Raiford and Rees see above, Map 3, P, VI, 54, 64, 249, VII, 207.

³² Draper MSS, University of Wisconsin Library, 2VV, 186 (Pearson MSS); below, n. 34; P, XI, 15, XIII, 432, XX, 544, XXI, 446. Compare Schoolhouse Branch of Black River (P, VIII, 84).

³³ JC, Aug. 2, Sept. 6, Oct. 3, 1749, *Wills*, 1760-1767, pp. 194, 232.

announced "A Great Meeting" to be held on the next Friday, Saturday and Sunday to which he invited his Raifords Creek kin.³⁴

Another Baptist congregation was organized on Broad River in 1759 or 1760 by the Reverend Philip Mulkey, made up of members said to have come with him from Deep River in North Carolina. In 1762, however, the minister moved to Fairforest Creek, about eight miles above the junction of that stream with Tyger River. His congregation followed him, and the Fairforest Baptist Church quickly became the chief back country center for the Baptist faith.³⁵

³⁴ See above, p. 157, Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, pp. 159, 167-168, 172-174; photographs of four letters or fragments from John Pearson and his son Philip to another son (supplied by Professor E. L. Green, University of S. C., originals owned by W. Boyce Pearson, Strother, S. C.).

³⁵ Townsend, *S. C. Baptists*, pp. 125-126, 136. The building erected in 1772 was on land given by Benjamin Holcombe (*ibid.*, p. 126), whose plat of 1770 on both sides of Dining Creek lay chiefly on the north side of that stream. This indicates a site approximating that of the present church—see Bureau of Soils, *Field Operations*, 1913 (Washington, 1916), map of Union County. Joseph Breed, one of the members, had a plat surveyed on Fairforest Creek in 1762 (P, VII, 362).

BACK COUNTRY AND FRONTIER

CHAPTER XIII

THE BACK COUNTRY IN 1759

The beginnings and early growth of the back country had been in large measure the history of separate and nearly isolated communities. But in 1759 these settlements touched one another along the whole length of the Indian boundary, and partly by mere physical contact, partly by increasing likeness of industry and interests, had become a distinct section of the province.

In thirty years the South Carolina of 1729 with its 10,000 whites and 20,000 negroes had grown to 36,000 of the former and 55,000 of the latter, while the compact triangle of the earlier day had expanded into the sections which distinguished the later history of the commonwealth. The tidewater proper had 19,000 whites and all but two or three thousand of the slaves; to these numbers should be added 1,400 whites—over half of them Scotch—and about 900 slaves which were the population of Purrysburg, Williamsburg and Kingston, townships touching tidewater and raising their products under coast conditions.¹

In the townships of the upper pine belt and fall line and on the small rivers between them there were apparently 9,000 whites and about 1,300 slaves. Nearly a third of these whites and a fourth of the slaves were in the Welsh Tract, the best settled portion of the section. With the exception of 500 Welsh and nearly 2,000 Germans the white settlers of the middle country seem to have been almost entirely of English stock.

Beyond the fall line and the townships was the back country with nearly 7,000 whites and about 300 slaves. The Broad River valley, with 1,800 Germans and 1,000 Britons, had twice as many settlers as either the Wateree-Catawba or Saluda valleys. On the Catawba and in the Long Canes the great majority were doubtless Ulster Scots, but elsewhere it is difficult to distinguish between North and South Briton; except for the Germans it is probable that there were comparatively few who were not English.

The origin of the middle and back country settlers who did not enjoy the bounty or did not come in well identified groups cannot be satisfactorily stated without intensive study of population lists of the other colonies

¹ See population estimates above, pp. 5-6, the militia return of 1757 (JC, May 4), Glen's estimate of 1754—7,000 militia, 50,000 slaves (JC, Dec. 30), imports of slaves (SCG, Dec. 8, 1759).

which furnished emigrants. The names were English or Scotch, few of them distinctive; even where reasonable probability of origin in a certain colony is established for a settler the question usually remains unanswered as to whether he was in turn a recent immigrant to that region.

Besides the small groups of settlers in Amelia and on Black River, Lynches River and the Coosawhatchie which have been listed as coming from the coast or middle country,² the South Carolina provincial records and the parish registers which have survived show about a hundred and fifty names of men going from the tidewater to the interior.³ These local records cover perhaps half of the settled population of the tidewater; newcomers to that section are scarcely to be identified at all.⁴ This evidence though slender is consistent and one concludes that a quarter or even a third of the middle country white population came from the tidewater after a shorter or longer residence there, while probably less than ten percent of the back country settlers had a similar origin. Furthermore, the fact is clear that the chief leaders of the middle country came in this migration, while it gave scarcely any important men to the back country. In other words, during this period the middle country was quite sufficient as a settlement field for the coast population; here was room and to spare with soil, climate and crops much the same as those to which they were accustomed, and there was little point in their going farther in their search for homes.

Of the outsiders who can be identified by their petitions or otherwise much the largest number came from Virginia—sixty or more heads of families, besides the groups in the Waxhaws and Long Canes; nearly fifty slaves were brought in by these settlers. Half as many petitioners stated that they came from Pennsylvania, but these were in addition to the Welsh settlers from the Lower Counties of that colony. Maryland, the Jerseys and North Carolina were each named by a handful of petitioners as their former homes. Thus, in the middle country the Virginia element may have been as large as that from tidewater South Carolina, while in the back country it was undoubtedly in the lead, the settlers from the other colonies coming second and the South Carolinians making a poor third.

This mixing of elements was by no means new to South Carolina. Its

² Above, pp. 43, 75, 108, 145.

³ This number includes the discharged soldiers (see above, p. 27, n. 27).

⁴ Some idea of the immigration to the province may be had from the advertisements by shipmasters of servants' time for sale, by the numerous advertisements for return of runaway servants recently imported, and by applications of recent immigrants from the West Indies for permission to bring in slaves duty free. See for instances, *SCG*, Sept. 30, 1732 (Capt. James Wilks), Mar. 20, 1742 (John Savage), Jan. 20, 1746 (William Whaley), Jan. 7, 1745 (McKenzie & Roche), Feb. 4, 1745 (M. Peacock), Dec. 16, 1745 (Isaac Ross); Harriott Horry Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney* (New York, 1896), p. 1; *JUHA*, June 4, 1735, Nov. 20, 1742; *SCG* Dec. 2, 1732, *JC*, July 5, 1742, *JCHA* Mar. 1, 1754.

own tidewater society had been compounded mainly of Englishmen from England and her colonies; the Germans and Welsh, the strangers of the eighteenth century, made no greater diversity than did the French in earlier days, and the native South Carolina element in the middle and back country afforded a nucleus for provincial unity. The new settlements were a problem, in some ways a threat to the province, but geography, not race, was at the root of the matter. The back country, the region which was farthest removed and fastest growing, was to be the chief focus of South Carolina's growing pains; only by concentrating study upon it and by comparing its conditions with those of the middle country—the transition section—can an understanding be gained of the province's new and coming problems.

The part played by the Indian trader in opening up the back country was of great importance. As he counted off the weary miles, or rested himself by clear waters, or hunted game and searched for strayed horses in the forest, he came to know the country as few others could. He pointed the way to the first settlers, and not infrequently forsook his hazardous occupation to take his place among them. In his domesticated state he was of special value because of his knowledge of Indian affairs and his former connections with the government and the merchants of the coast. The Indian path itself was a channel along which came a trickle of the ebb and flow of the commerce and civilization of the distant little city, and the early settler sought a place upon it, where he could fancy himself a part of or least in touch with that life. Vying with the trader in his knowledge of the frontier was the professional hunter who might himself have served an apprenticeship as packhorseman in the Indian trade, or else have drifted from the settlements into this hard and shiftless existence. This class was not so numerous in South Carolina as in the colony to the north, where the back country was more free from Indian competition as well as from Indian danger. About Saluda Old Town and Ninety Six the Indian trade and the nearness to the Cherokee country enabled the trader and hunter to continue their pursuits after they became husbandmen.

Cattle-raising was in many respects a frontier occupation, and occasionally cowpens were established far beyond the settlements. But there was little point in raising beeves so far from a market, for the middle country continued to the Revolution to be thinly settled, and its myriad swamps, especially in such comparatively isolated sections as the Coosawhatchie and Edisto Forks, remained the chief cattle ranges. Elsewhere through the back country the first settlers were the small farmers. These varied among themselves in their possessions, some evidently bringing scarcely more than a few tools and a little clothing—destitute even of the gun so much needed on the frontier. A single horse transported these goods and any members of the family that could not walk. Wagons came only after a given

section was fairly well settled, and the poorer men probably brought neither cow nor hog.

But equally early in the process of settlement came a somewhat more well-to-do farmer, his several horses carrying his family as well as his goods, the latter differing from those of his poorer neighbor in quality and quantity rather than in kind. To what extent he brought his stock of cattle, hogs and poultry with him, and how much he depended on buying them from earlier settlers cannot be said. Probably all these men had some money with them, the proceeds of the breaking up of the home they left, for most of them could within a year pay the land fees.

In the selection of a site for settlement the back countryman was nearly always influenced by the distance from other settlers. He was rarely found more than ten miles from his fellows, but within these liberal limits he sought for land to answer rather exacting requirements. In the process he usually passed by the larger rivers, such as the Wateree and the Broad, and even the secondary streams, like the Enoree, Little Saluda and Stevens Creek. Where the lowland on the river was wide the owner of two or three hundred acres risked his all in the occasional floods; where it was narrow the adjacent highland was usually steep and rocky, while the rivers themselves were obstacles rather than means of transportation. Instead he made his way to the valleys of those streams more properly called creeks, where the piedmont offered its choicest combination of soil and convenience, and, indeed, of beauty too. The clear stream was easily crossed, on its banks grew the cane or grass essential for cattle, the soil of the slopes was good, that of the narrow bottom as rich as was to be found. Finally, though wells were not unknown,⁵ the hillside produced a spring or the site was not complete.

Although these advantages seem to have outweighed small differences in soil structure, the average settler examined his ground carefully, and the large areas which today are stubborn or poor land were usually passed over for the red clay beyond. Very often the surveyor was entrusted with the selection, and when John Pearson's lands were advertised for sale in 1771 he was spoken of as a good judge of land.⁶

The bounty settlers, since they came through Charleston and had their land fees paid for them, swore to their headrights before the governor and council and secured their warrants at once. Others, including emigrants from the coast, first found a spot and set to work, application for the warrant being delayed for a term varying from several months to several years according to the circumstances of the newcomer. The settler had no legal rights to land or improvements until he had secured a warrant, but the government gave him every consideration possible; not only was his the

⁵ Indian Books, V, 21.

⁶ *SCGCJ*, Nov. 19, 1771; see also *JC*, June 2, 1752.

first claim, but if any one else obtained a warrant for the land, the occupant, if he applied for his own warrant before a survey was made, could get the other cancelled.

The warrant allowed twelve months for the survey,⁷ and could be renewed on application. A one hundred acre tract cost the settler who did not enjoy the bounty about five pounds sterling in fees, besides the time and expense of appearing in Charleston to swear to headrights.⁸ To the provincial government the non-bounty settler was due to pay taxes, apparently from the date of the warrant, but they seem to have been collected, and with fair efficiency, from the time the survey was made.⁹ When the grant was made he became obligated to the crown for annual payment of quit rents; this he often evaded by leaving his plat in the surveyor-general's office instead of taking out the grant, though by so doing he ran some risk of losing his land.¹⁰

The number of those who made no move to apply for warrants was small;¹¹ land was abundant, the regulations of the crown liberal, and the poorest settler had his choice. On the other hand there were few large holdings. This impartial distribution of the soil, matched in varying degrees in the back country of the other southern colonies, was the chief basis for an equality of wealth and opportunity that was the most significant characteristic of the American frontier.

The five months from November to March were the time of the year chosen by the overland immigrants for their arrival in South Carolina, the need for harvesting the old crop and planting the new outweighing the discomforts of winter weather on the road and in a makeshift house.¹² It was not uncommon for the newcomer to buy out the improvements of some less well-to-do settler; in other cases the family was left at the old home while the head of it made proper provision for his wife and children; others found lodging with neighbors while the new house was building.¹³

⁷ *State Recs. of N. C.*, XI, 39; this was reduced in 1755 to six (PR, XXVI, 321—instructions to Lyttelton).

⁸ See above, p. 25. The requirement for personal appearance seems to have been first made by the crown in 1739 (see *State Recs. of N. C.*, XI, 39, PR, XXIII, 133—Surveyor General George Hunter, June 20, 1748, JC, Mar. 7, 1735).

⁹ See *Stats.*, III, 354, 385, 440; JC, Sept. 1, 1752, Aug. 7, 1753, Dec. 2, 1760.

¹⁰ 4 shillings proclamation money per 100 acres; after 1755 they began two years from the grant (PR, XXVI, 315—instructions to Lyttelton); the province as a whole paid only half the rents due (Bond, *Quit Rent System*, pp. 318–349), and it is probable that the back country paid an even smaller proportion. For instances of evasion see JC, Feb. 27, Mar. 7, 1735, Mar. 7, 1758, Sept. 4, 1759.

¹¹ Had it been otherwise the many reports of disasters and mishaps to persons in the back country and on the frontier—the poorest class being more often than not the victims—would have recorded a much larger number of squatters.

¹² About twenty petitioners gave the approximate time of their arrival in the province.

¹³ JC, Jan. 24, 1749, Sept. 4, 1750, Mar. 3, May 5, 1752, *Journal of Alexander Chesney*, . . . ed. by E. Alfred Jones (Columbus, 1921), pp. 3–4.

On the whole, however, it appears that the custom was for the family to come as a unit and to settle the land without outside aid.

The first dwelling set up seems to have been a small log cabin or a mere shelter of poles covered with branches of trees and earth.¹⁴ The settler's permanent home on the bank of the stream or on the edge of its narrow swamp was probably built within the year. It was usually made of logs, doubtless roofed with rough boards.¹⁵ Throughout the back country, however, there were occasional frame houses covered with plank sawed out of trees by hand with whipsaws, or perhaps hewn out with axes.¹⁶ The labor involved in this proceeding was immense, but it was probably used by all who had slaves or money with which to hire laborers because of the tighter and more comfortable house it made. Wooden floors were apparently the rule, although in 1775, at one back country house, William Tennant slept on a broken clay floor. Stephen Holston's house at Little Saluda had three or more rooms, and when the Catawbans in 1756 attempted to go into the house of a nearby North Carolina settler and found it locked they made their entrance by the chimney. Glass windows were rare; Martin Friday had one in his Congaree home appraised at approximately three shillings.¹⁷

Sometimes settlers were able to plant their first crops in an abandoned Indian field, but the country was otherwise heavily wooded, and the clearing of a few acres of the land was as pressing a need as the erection of some sort of shelter.¹⁸ Petitioners for land warrants always spoke of this as extremely heavy labor; it appears that they felled all the trees in a space of five or ten acres, later used part of the timber to build the house, and converted the branches of the trees into the fence necessary for protection of the crop.¹⁹ For additions to the original clearing settlers may have used the method of girdling the trees and leaving them to die, though apparently it was the custom to cut them down and leave them to rot on the ground. The cleared field usually began at the edge of the narrow swamp which bordered the creek.²⁰

Through most of the middle and back country corn was the first crop planted in the newly cleared land, and long remained the chief food re-

¹⁴ For instance, JC, Mar. 3, 1752, Sept. 3, 1753, Dec. 24, 1764, PR, XVII, 339 (above, p. 55, n. 6). Compare above, p. 79.

¹⁵ *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 355, 362, R. W. Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution, 1764-1776* (New York, 1855), p. 232.

¹⁶ See advertisements, *SCG*, Sept. 1, 1739 (Joseph Crell), Jan. 30, 1755 (Alexander McGregor); JC, Oct. 17, 1764. Note the lumber and whipsaws in Inventories, 1753-1756, p. 368, 1758-1761, pp. 22, 392, 428, 469, 483, 588; see also inventory of Robert McCorkle (above p. 143, n. 20). Note also Elisha Lawrence's sawmill on Long Cane, in 1767 (P, XVII, 283).

¹⁷ Gibbes, *Documentary History, 1764-1776*, p. 232, JC, Sept. 3, 1753, Aug. 24, 1756, Inventories, 1758-1761, p. 89.

¹⁸ See JC, June 8, 1739, P, IV, 400, above, p. 114, n. 1.

¹⁹ For instances, JC, Nov. 13, 1736, Apr. 2, 1751, Apr. 7, Nov. 7, 1752; compare *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 362-363.

²⁰ See *ibid.*, Carroll, *Collections*, II, 201, P, VII, 17, 215.

source. There was no sale for it, however, save to incoming settlers, since the low country supplied itself. Like other back country crops it was made almost entirely with the hoe; only the well to do had ploughs—heavy, cumbersome implements which were utterly impracticable for the new ground with its numerous stumps and network of roots. Cultivation was therefore shallow and inefficient, and only the fertility of the fresh soil enabled the farmer to make from twenty to thirty bushels to the acre. Corn was planted in wide rows with hills six feet or more apart, evidently to give room for other products such as peas and probably beans and pumpkins planted with it.²¹ Rye was also a food product cultivated in small quantities, and barley sometimes appears in the records.²² Oats seem to have been rare, the horses and cattle depending in winter upon the canes and grass on the banks of the streams, with some assistance from fodder and doubtless from corn shucks.²³

It is probable that the poorer settlers planted no grain but corn, but references to sweet potatoes, turnips, pumpkins and coleworts suggest that these garden products were commonly grown, and that they formed an important part of the food supply.²⁴ Orchards of peach, pear and apple trees were a point of pride with the better class of middle country settlers,²⁵ and were doubtless planted in the back country also.

At the time of settlement there were high hopes that wheat planted in the townships would replace the flour imported from the northern colonies, but not until the settlement of the Wateree and Congaree did the industry receive any great impetus.²⁶ The Cherokee War not only brought out the evidence of the amount of back country wheat but accounts of supplies furnished by the frontier neighborhoods to their stockade forts show that its cultivation was widely distributed, and even suggest that wheat rivalled corn as a food product of the frontier. The Charleston newspaper advertisements of this period indicate that despite the expense of transportation the settlers about the Congarees and Pinetree Hill drew a

²¹ Inventories; compare *American Husbandry*, I, 447–448, II, 21, above, p. 34, Carroll, *Collections*, II, 203. South Carolina regularly exported small amounts of corn and pease (*SCG*, Dec. 8, 1759), and it does not appear that this came from the back country.

²² JC, Jan. 18, 1749, JCHA, July 1762 (schedule for 1762), May 25, 1764, Inventories, 1758–1761, p. 483. Reap-hooks occur in *ibid.*, for instance, 1761–1763, p. 318.

²³ Note oats, fodder, corn blades or pasturage—*Stats.*, IV, 119, 121, 126, Inventories, 1753–1756, p. 237.

²⁴ See above, pp. 38, 56, 120, 139; P, IX, 460 (Turnip Patch Fork); JC, Apr. 26, 1764; *Stats.*, IV, 123, 126; JCHA, June 23, 1761. The white or Irish potato became common on the coast later (*SCG*, July 7, 1766).

²⁵ JC, Apr. 11, 1746, Nov. 6, 1751; *SCG*, Dec. 15, 1758 (advt. John Fouquet), Jan. 23, 1762 (advt. of J. F. Doubbs); *SCAGG*, Nov. 4, 1774.

²⁶ See PR, XXIII, 226 (enclosure with Glen's letter to Board, Oct. 10, 1748), Carroll, *Collections*, II, 223–224, JCHA, May 6, 1749, Inventories, 1756–1758, pp. 398–399.

considerable income from it.²⁷ Aside from this crop there was little in the agriculture of the piedmont to yield money. Hemp and flax, however, were likewise among the early ambitions for the townships, and the initial bounties were continued, though irregularly, for the remainder of the colonial period.²⁸ Several settlers at the Congarees and Orangeburg raised small quantities of hemp until the end of the 'fifties, but otherwise the new settlers seem to have paid little attention to it.²⁹ Flax was more generally planted, but the evidence is the listing of flax hackles in inventories, and indicates that it was grown only to supply the family with cloth.³⁰

In some respects indigo offered more inducements to the frontiersman than any other money crop. Its bulk was so small in proportion to its value that transportation of it was a negligible problem, for the produce of an acre might be sold for ten pounds sterling, yet weigh only eighty pounds. Furthermore it grew readily in either middle or back country soil. In 1754 the commissary-general announced that he had six bushels of Guatemala seed to distribute to the back settlers, a pint to each family. Therefore it is not surprising to read the optimistic statements of the Saluda and Enoree settlers in 1755 that they hoped to raise "some hundreds" of indigo that year, nor of Governor Dobbs of North Carolina in regard to indigo making by the back settlers of that province.³¹ Doubtless a few succeeded with the marvellous new crop, but the process of getting the dye from the weed was complicated and delicate, and required large carefully made vats plentifully supplied with water. The back country did not develop indigo till after 1759, though the middle country, in better position and with more capital, was already an important factor in its production.³²

No record appears to throw real light on the profit, in normal times, to the back country from cattle raising. But exports of beef and pork

²⁷ JCHA, Feb. 25, 1741, July 3, 1760, July, 1762 (schedule for 1762); JC, Mar. 6, 1750, Nov. 7, 1752, Inventories, 1758-1761, pp. 89, 589; see also above, p. 106, and below, p. 221, n. 23.

²⁸ See above, pp. 82-83; *Stats.* III, 587, 615, 616; IV, 28-29, 49, 98, 166-168, 232, 315-317.

²⁹ Above, p. 56, Inventories, 1753-1756, p. 237, JCHA, Jan. 25, 1742, Jan. 10, 1755, *SCG*, June 9, 1759.

³⁰ Inventories, 1751-1753, p. 41, 1753-1756, p. 236, 1758-1761, pp. 22, 277, 483, 1761-1763, pp. 31, 318. A bounty was offered on cotton by the act of 1744 (*Stats.*, III, 615), and a few references to it similar to those to flax are found in middle and back country inventories (1753-1756, pp. 47, 443, 1758-1761, p. 318; see also PR, XXII, 276—Glen to Board, Apr. 28, 1747). In 1747 James Marion applied to the assembly for a seven year monopoly for a machine "for ginning of the rough seed-Cotton, such as has usually been sown . . . in this Province;" which would, with the labor of a negro man and two boys in twelve hours clean eighty pounds of cotton from the seed (JCHA, May 19, 1747).

³¹ Carroll, *Collections*, II, 203, 235, *SCG*, Feb. 12, 1754, above, p. 131, *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 149.

³² Above, pp. 62, 94, 105. See Harriott H. Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney* (New York, 1896), pp. 102-103.

from South Carolina which were 5,576 barrels in the year ending June 1749, when the back country was in process of settlement, fell steadily and during the last three years of the 'fifties were less than a thousand barrels a year. The new settlements were evidently unable to take advantage of the shift of low country labor to the rapidly expanding rice and indigo crops by sending salted pork and beef to Charleston for export, and probably were scarcely better equipped to sell meat to the low country planters. For this purpose cattle must be fattened, salt brought up from the coast, and heavy meat transported back, or else the fat cattle must be driven to the coast and properly fed on the way. Hides could be tanned in the back country, and marketing them was a somewhat simpler matter. In 1748 they were worth six shillings apiece in Charleston.³³ There were few large holdings of cattle in the back country. About fifty inventories, fairly representative of all but the poorest back and middle country settlers, show only half a dozen owners of as many as a hundred, and only one of these was in the piedmont. However, most of these men had more cattle than their families alone could consume, and it is evident that small numbers of beeves and hogs, sold as opportunity offered, eked out the back country income.

It was probably butter, rather than beef, that made cattle worth while to the more enterprising frontiersman. Butter was worth in the back country four or five pence a pound, and, prepared with saltpetre and salt in the manner of the time, kept indefinitely, so that the output of the individual farm, whether little or large, could be fully utilized. In 1739 it was spoken of as the "chief produce" of the townships. The Scotch-Irish settlers on Rocky River in North Carolina were the first to give back country butter a name in the Charleston market, the first advertisements—which also included tallow—appearing in 1760. The Waxhaws early announced intentions of making butter and cheese, and the cooper's tools in Robert McCorkle's inventory must have been intended for making casks for these exports. In the Cherokee War one settler supplied eighty pounds of butter, another eighty-eight, to frontier forts on the Broad and Saluda Rivers at about four pence a pound.³⁴

There were few settlers who did not have at least one horse. Oxen seem to have been seldom used, and horses were essential for work on the farm as well as for transportation abroad; the numbers owned by any individual were usually small, only in rare cases as high as fifty head.³⁵

³³ Carroll, *Collections*, II, 237, *SCG*, Sept. 8, 1759. Note the tanyard at the Congarees (above, p. 57, n. 12). See also Inventories, 1753–1756, p. 47, 1758–1761, p. 67. A German tanner, George Keat, settled on the Saluda in 1752 (*JC*, Jan. 8, 1752, P, V, 267).

³⁴ *JCHA*, Dec. 18, 1739, May 28, 1760, May 25, 1764; *SCG*, Aug. 23, 1760, above, p. 143; see Inventories, 1758–1761, p. 589.

³⁵ For instance, *JC*, July 7, 1752. See *JUHA*, Dec. 3, 1744, *JCHA*, Jan. 24, 1745, *SCG*, Oct. 2, 1755 (advt. of Richard Waters), Feb. 2, 1760 (advt. of William Lawrence), Mar. 28, 1761 (advt. of John Dawson); John Crawford, at Cheraw, had two pairs of oxen (Inventories, 1758–1761, p. 585).

They were bred in the back country and probably found ready sale on the coast.

Hunting was a resource available to most of the back country people, and almost as much to those of the middle country, which was even more thinly settled, and had wide swamps for the protection of game. Buffalo disappeared as the first settlers arrived, leaving only theiricks, paths, and the names of streams to record their history. Bears made their exit as promptly, though the Purrysburgers claimed to have suffered by them several years after their settlement. But the deer survived in spite of the annual slaughter, and the Cherokees from the Lower Towns came regularly nearly to Ninety Six for their hunts. Probably the great majority of the settlers profited from lucky chances at deer, and more rarely caught beaver. Some undoubtedly continued to make their living chiefly by hunting, but their number was small; success in this profession required as great skill and as hard work as did farming and promised less reward.³⁶ Dogs were common in the back country, but seem to have been kept for defense rather than for hunting. Guns were usually muskets; however the new rifles began to appear in 1750 and by 1759 were found frequently. References to fishing are rare; the Ebenezer pastors complained that the Purryburgers preferred to have their children hunt and fish rather than go to school, and Patrick Calhoun said in 1765 that the settlers had repaired the Indian fishdam across Little River, and that in the large creeks were plenty of rock fish, shad, perch, cat and trout.³⁷

The sale of his surplus products might enable the poorest back countryman to spend a few shillings a year for salt and ammunition, and, at rare intervals, for a blanket or some indispensable tool, while his more comfortable neighbor sold and bought in proportion. The total of this trade was considerable, but it was spread out over a great area which had not as yet developed any economic centers nor even a respectable crossroads. Four rivers divided the region into as many districts, and made cross-country communication excessively difficult. True, there was Ninety Six where Robert Goudey did a business rivalling that of some of the merchants in Charleston, but this was a store for the Cherokee traders, and was not even within reach of the best settled regions of the back country. In 1762 Thomas Wade appears to have had a store at the crossing of the Catawba road over Hanging Rock Creek, and at that time reference is made to a similar establishment formerly kept at the mouth of Stevens Creek. Somewhere on every road, no doubt, there was an enterprising settler like Moses Kirkland who kept an extra supply of some commodity, wet or dry, of which he might occasionally sell a little, but that was all. The rivers

³⁶ See *SCGCJ*, Aug. 9, 1768, P, VII, 63, XI, 514, XII, 48, 54, 97, above, pp. 38, 119-122, Inventories, 1753-1756, p. 47.

³⁷ *JC*, Mar. 13, 1750, Mar. 16, 1756, Apr. 26, 1764, *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 142, Indian Books, III, 8, Voigt, *German Element*, p. 27, Hillsboro Plat (below, p. 253).

which precluded cross country communication inexorably pointed the direct ways to the fall line or to the coast, and thither the back countryman betook himself—not indeed by an easy water carriage, but on horseback, following the path along the side of the valley. Within a decade of settlement, however, the path had widened into a rough road, and harnessing four horses to a wagon—if he was one of the few who owned one of the ponderous vehicles—he set forth, charged with the sales and commissions of his neighbors as well as his own. To make the best of the venture many, perhaps most, of these wagons were driven direct to Charleston, but there were others ready to stop short of this goal.³⁸

At Savannah Town John Tobler's store survived the competition of Augusta; at the Congarees Audeon St. John, successor to Thomas Brown, Robert Steill, and Herman Geiger, was perhaps the only considerable merchant. His store was hired as a military depot during the Cherokee War, and in 1763 he had "a complete and fresh assortment of dry goods suitable to the back inhabitants, . . . for cash or short credit". The sand hills prevented the wagons of the Wateree and Catawba coming to the Congarees; instead those bound for Charleston from the upper valley and from still further north followed the road along the eastern side of the river. With the development of wheat as a paying crop there was a good opportunity for a store at the head of Wateree navigation, and here Samuel Wyly tried for a time the role of merchant. He was succeeded if not bought out by Joseph Kershaw and his Charleston partners. After the Cherokee War this store became the most important trading enterprise in the middle or back country.³⁹

The transportation problem, which geography made the fundamental obstacle to the early development of the piedmont, was intensified by the quickness with which a comparatively small population spread over the great area behind the tidewater. The resources of the province would not have permitted any considerable assistance for roads in the new settlements even had the provincial system sanctioned it, while public levies of money or labor on the inhabitants themselves was for years manifestly impossible. At the expense of the township fund the Cherokee path was made a wagon road as far as the Congarees in 1737, and in 1747 the inhabitants were charged with its upkeep, but in the main the settlers were left to themselves to make the best use they could of the Indian trade paths and to develop new routes. In 1748 the Cherokee path above the Congarees was spoken of as the "Main Road", evidently meaning that the trees had

³⁸ Above, p. 136; for Wade, Mesne Conveyances, 3E, 785-792, P, V, 383, VII, 184; for the other store, *SCG*, Oct. 9, 1762 (adv't. of J. and C. Wright), P, IX, 398. Most of the fifty wagons in Lyttelton's expedition were from the Broad and Saluda; one-horse carts were as common as wagons (*Stats.*, IV, 117-128).

³⁹ *JCHA*, July 1762 (schedule for 1762), *SCG*, Nov. 26, 1763, above, p. 104.

been cut back along the route to allow the passage of wagons. There were few if any bridges on this stretch, and streams like the Little Saluda could only be crossed when the water was not high. Even in low water the footing in the fords was treacherous and the steep banks made an empty wagon a load. By 1759 the road to the Cherokees was open for wagons almost if not quite to Fort Prince George.⁴⁰

The old trading path from the Catawbias ran nearly south along the west bank of the Catawba to the head of the Congaree, but about 1755 the traffic on it shifted to the road constructed by Thomas Howell to his ferry below Raifords Creek. A plat of 1758 on Cedar Creek shows that the path of the early settlers on the east bank of the Broad had yielded chief place to a road along the ridge to the Howells Ferry road; the latter and its two branches above were not made a public charge until 1766, nor does it appear that the upper portions of these routes were open for wagons until after 1760. Meanwhile the more convenient path on the east side of the Wateree was made a public road in 1753 but it was not completed to the Waxhaws until the end of the decade. From Grannys Quarter Creek, a few miles above Pinetree Hill, a path turned east across Lynches River to the Peedee at the Cheraws, and by 1756 wagons seem to have been following it, although improvement of the route was not provided for until 1762.⁴¹

In 1750, with the settlement of the Enoree and its branches, paths appear on the plats near the mouths of Indian Creek and Kings Creek, crossing Cannons Creek about five miles from the Broad, and evidently reaching the Crims Creek settlement near its church. In 1758 this path is referred to as a wagon road; about Wateree Creek it turned and crossed the ridge to the Saluda, thus avoiding the rugged land on the lower Broad. The Cherokee path was perhaps reached by Scott's landing below Bear Creek, but later this road was continued farther down the north bank of the Saluda to Kirkland's Ferry, near the mouth of the river.⁴²

There were two early trading paths on the eastern side of the Savannah above the falls, one paralleling the river a few miles from its banks, the other running north from Savannah Town to Ninety Six. The settlers of the Long Cane section and the upper branches of Stevens Creek, however, used the Cherokee path or the later route which led from the Calhoun

⁴⁰ JC, Jan. 19, 1737, P, IV, 439, *Stats.*, IX, 146, *SCG*, Jan. 12, 1760. Compare the troubles of the Moravian company on their journey from Pennsylvania to North Carolina in 1753 (Mereness, *Travels*, pp. 325-356).

⁴¹ Above, pp. 63, 99, 106; P, V, 222, 253, 278, 459, VI, 129, 213, 328, VII, 281, 294; *Stats.*, IX, 200-201, 214; see also pp. 144-147.

⁴² P, V, 114, 184, 278, VI, 96, 309, 316, 320, VII, 80, XII, 99; *Stats.*, IX, 211, Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.* The upper portion of the route evidently approximated that of the later Kings Creek-Crims Creek road (see Mills, *Atlas of S. C.*, Newberry).

settlement across Hard Labor Creek to the Ninety Six-Savannah Town road and thence to the forks of the Edisto.⁴³

The first of the paths crossing the piedmont from the north was the Virginia trading route which also served for communication between the back country and the northern colonies. In 1752 another path paralleling this one led to Lea's ford over Broad River, nearly a mile above the mouth of the Enoree. John Lea or Lee appears no more on Broad River, and the crossing later became known as Lyles' ford, but in 1756 the wagon road crossed by the shallow ford at Fishdam shoals, six miles above the Tyger.⁴⁴ The Catawba was crossed at Land's ford west of the Waxhaw Church. Beyond Broad River the road cannot be traced prior to 1759; the most used route seems to have been a path from Cannons Creek to the Saluda, crossing that stream about a mile above the mouth of Bush River. The Indian path from the Catawbias to Savannah Town, which before the settlement of the middle country crossed at the shoals at the head of the Congaree, was used for the infrequent travel between the Congarees and Fort Moore. The route skirted the branches of the Little Saluda for half the distance, but then turned southwest, crossing the head branches of the South Fork of the Edisto. At the fort a ferry was established by law in 1739, the "Sand Bar" being the landing place on the Georgia side.⁴⁵

The simple forms of manufacturing to be found in the back country were the making or repairing of tools and utensils and the crude processes necessary to prepare crops and products for market or home consumption. Most blacksmiths appear to have plied their trade along with their farm work. At Ninety Six there were Daniel Migler and William Ritenour, on the Broad were Samuel Hollenshed and Daniel Rees, while the smith's tools among Isaac Pennington's effects and the 71 pounds of bar iron, worth one pound sterling, owned by Peter Crim suggest that these men employed smiths.⁴⁶ At the fall line there were others; for instance one of Herman Geiger's negroes was a smith. The "path to the Mines" in Amelia, and Isaac Pennington's petition for fifty acres on the Enoree on which he was "Settling an Iron Work and that he may have some Ore to keep the same employed," suggest early native sources to eke out imports of bar iron.⁴⁷ The carpenters, joiners, wheelwrights, shoemakers and weavers, a score of them, were to be found chiefly in the fall line settlements, but there were several in the back country.⁴⁸

⁴³ P, V, 293, 381, VII, 32, 47; Plat of Hillsboro (below, p. 253).

⁴⁴ P, V, 380, VI, 149, VII, 65, IX, 92; see also VI, 309, XVI, 353. For fishdams see above, p. 169.

⁴⁵ P, IV, 134, VI, 281, VIII, 241, XVI, 219, above, p. 72; *Stats.* IX, 110-111, Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*

⁴⁶ *Stats.*, IV, 122 (for location see P, VII, 181, 334), above, p. 148; Inventories, 1758-1761, pp. 432, 439.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1751-1753, p. 108, above, p. 44, JC, Apr. 2, 1754.

⁴⁸ Mesne Conveyances.

The grinding of corn and wheat was one of the first problems of the settler. Some may have cracked their corn Indian fashion, but others out of reach of a cornmill probably used small steel or iron hand mills; they were furnished to the Purrysburg and Hillsborough settlers and are occasionally found in inventories, valued at about fifteen shillings.⁴⁹ But a mill pond and its corn mill were usually the first evidence that a section had been settled, and it was rare that the settlers were not thus provided within five years. Corn was usually sold in the grain, but wheat was ground in the back country or at the fall line before it was sent to the coast.

Sawmills were available to few of the back country settlers before the Cherokee War; with their whipsaws the settlers could saw planks themselves almost as efficiently as could the clumsy frames, set with two or more saws, which were slowly driven through the log by a water wheel. The carpenter who contracted to rebuild Fort Moore in 1747 made the brick—doubtless for chimneys—on the ground, but otherwise bricks are conspicuous in the back country by their absence.⁵⁰

Weaving and spinning were important items in home industry, although there is no evidence that there was any surplus for sale; spinning wheels and looms, even after years of use, were worth six or seven shilling each. Wool, flax and cotton were generally used, although sheep were not to be found in every inventory.⁵¹ In Isaac Pennington's estate in 1762 there was a still valued at about twenty-one pounds; Hans Jacob Morf, of Saxe Gotha, had one worth only fifty shillings; he also had both corn and rye. The whiskey used at the vendue of James McCorkle's estate was valued at eighteen pence a gallon.⁵²

Two hundred and fifty slaves were listed by a hundred and seventy owners in applications for warrants in the back country between 1744 and 1756. Eight of these men, owning eighty-six slaves, were residents of the coast or middle country, and some of them probably did not put their slaves upon the land. The other applicants averaged about three slaves each, and the negroes were widely distributed over the piedmont. During the last three or four years of the decade there was doubtless a more rapid increase of slaves in the back country, but the total could scarcely have been over three hundred. Indentured servants played an even smaller part; the number listed in warrants was less than fifty, though this figure was doubt-

⁴⁹ Above, p. 35, below, p. 253; Inventories, 1753-1756, pp. 326, 405; compare Adair, *American Indians*, p. 407.

⁵⁰ Note plan of sawmill in Ebenezer—*Plan von Neu Ebenezer*, . . . Augsburg (Collection of H. D. Kendall, Camden, S. C.), and provision for sawing plank at Fort Prince George in 1763 (Journal of Directors of Cherokee Trade, MS, B, p. 32); and Inventories, 1758-1761, pp. 399, 428, 588. For the Fort Moore reference, see JCHA, Apr. 11, 1747.

⁵¹ See for instances, Inventories, 1753-1756, pp. 47, 236, 326, 405, 443, 1758-1761, pp. 22, 428, 439, 1761-1763, pp. 31, 249, 318.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1758-1761, p. 432, 1761-1763, p. 319, above, p. 143.

less incomplete even for the period covered. About fifty applicants for land in the back country stated that they had served indentures, but most of these had been servants to masters in Charleston or elsewhere on the coast. Only a few of the servants were not German, and the indentures almost invariably represented passage money from Europe to Charleston. If many of the numerous Scotch or Irish servants on the coast made their way to the back country after the expiration of their terms, the fact does not appear in the records. The demand for overseers or tradesmen doubtless absorbed them as free laborers. Labor was therefore almost uniformly free, but there was little employment for hire. William Calhoun about 1764 records a few instances of work done for purchase of commodities, and Henry Christopher Beudeker paid seventeen pence a day for men to reap barley and wheat, while his coopers received twenty-one pence.⁵³ It is clear that these were exceptions to the rule that the farmer himself and his family did nearly all the work.

The furniture of the poorer settlers of the back country probably consisted of a few chairs and a bedstead with straw mattress and blankets or skins for covering. Cooking was done on the open fire, by both poor and well to do, and the poorest had his pot, which hung in the flame by a hook, and a pan for frying. Wooden noggins, serving for cups or small vessels, piggins—small wooden tubs—and wooden pails were probably common. Pewter plates and spoons, with steel knives and forks, completed a simple but adequate list of utensils. Pewter implements were easily broken or hopelessly bent, but could be melted and reshaped almost as easily, and the occurrence of spoon molds in two inventories suggests that this work was part of the blacksmith's craft. A great many of the back settlers were much more amply provided with household conveniences. Featherbeds, pillows and bolsters, linen sheets, table cloths and towels, looking-glass, teakettle, china or delftware and a greater abundance of pots, basins, jugs, hooks, pottracks, were evidence of this comfort.⁵⁴

One of John Pearson's neighbors about 1764 pawned a pair of cloth breeches, and the fact that Pearson felt impelled to describe them as made of cloth, together with the occurrence in Robert Goudey's inventory of 1776 of fourteen pairs of leather breeches, suggests that the latter were the common wear of the back country.⁵⁵ There are no references to moccasins, a poor a covering at best; and with leather so easy to procure there was no excuse for the back country settler to be badly shod. The goods that Captain Pepper kept for sale in Fort Moore were primarily to appeal

⁵³ "Journal of William Calhoun", *Publications of the Southern History Association*, VIII (1904), 184; JC, Jan. 26, 1750.

⁵⁴ Will of James McCorkle (above, p. 143, n. 20); Inventories, 1751-1753, pp. 93, 420, 1753-1756, p. 237, 1754-1758, p. 258, 1756-1758, p. 4.

⁵⁵ John Pearson to his son (above, p. 158, n. 34); Inventories, 1774-1785, p. 195.

to the soldiers of his garrison but probably indicate the usual clothes of the settlers. He sold coarse shoes for five or six shillings, while steel shoe buckles cost two-thirds as much. Felt hats were about six shillings, fine castor hats—presumably beaver—about twelve shillings. Coarse stockings he sold at two shillings, the “best knit stockings” at five or six, and a cotton shirt “well made” was eight and a half. Moses Hendrick, on Indian Creek, boasted a coat and red jacket; other inventories of perhaps the better-to-do show usually coat and “wescoat”. James Adamson, on the Wateree, had a broadcloth coat valued by appraisers at twenty-eight shillings, and another, evidently the worse for wear, worth about a third that much. Some inventories on the fall line list razors, wigs and perukes.⁵⁶

About women's wear there is a dearth of evidence. It may in part be inferred from the items in lists of men's clothes. Governor Dobbs described the summer clothing of his Rocky River settlers—“no woman wearing more than a shift and one thin petticoat.” Mrs. Haig, belonging to the middle country, and to the upper class at that, demanded of Thomas Corker that he send her a gown so that she might have good mourning clothes for everyday wear. In 1767 an indented servant girl about seventeen years of age, “short, lusty, ruddy-faced and remarkably sluttish”, recently come from Ireland and supposed to be headed for the “Irish” settlements, ran away from her Charleston master clad in “a new black quilted serge petticoat, a new printed linen gown, a long ear'd cap and straw hat.”⁵⁷

The diet of the back country settlers varied, but the staples for rich and poor were corn (meal or hominy), wheat flour, salt or dried beef and pork. One of the innumerable complaints of the Reverend Charles Woodmason, of the Parish of St. Mark, had to do with the prevailing fare of his High Hills neighbors: “Where I am, is neither Beef or Mutton—nor Beer, Cyder, or anything better than Water—These People eat twice a day . . . Their Bread of Indian Corn, Pork in Winter & Bacon in Sum^r. If any Beef, they jerk it & dry it in the Sun—So that you may as well eat a Deal Board.” An Indian forced himself into a German's house near Four Hole Swamp and took out of the pot of hominy the piece of meat that was being cooked with it. The Catawba Indians said that many settlers very cheerfully gave them bread and milk, meat or butter. Poultry were evidently common, geese are occasionally mentioned in the middle country, and an Orangeburg settler had turkeys. Patrick Calhoun remarked on his plat of Hillsborough Township that the country afforded plenty of deer and wild

⁵⁶ JC, Mar. 1, 1744, Inventories, 1746-1748, pp. 162-169, 1751-1753, p. 470, 1758-1761, pp. 468, 483. The Iroquois took from Haig his cap, his handkerchief from his neck, and his great coat, and from Brown his coat, jacket, and the shirt from his wallet (JC, Mar. 29, 1748).

⁵⁷ *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 355-356, above, pp. 58-59, *SCG*, Jan. 12, 1767.

turkeys. The beehives listed show the country was well supplied with honey from its own hives, if not from the forests.⁵⁸

The various kinds of drink of the better class is indicated by the tea-kettles, chocolate pots and coffee mills found in the back country and in the fall line townships. Wine is seldom found; John Gallman of Saxe Gotha township left eighteen bottles of Vidonia in 1758. Rum, less often whiskey, undiluted or mixed with sugar and water to make punch, was the usual drink of the back countryman, and was both necessity and luxury. With its sovereign power it might make even hard labor a pleasure, and was perhaps used by the new settler to get the aid of his neighbors in raising his log house. This was the habit in the back country of North Carolina, said the Moravians, who refused to believe in its efficacy: "Wagner was very busy with his new house, and about twenty people were helping him, but things never go well at such a gathering for more time is spent in drinking brandy than in working." The same use of it is hinted at among the expenses of the Cherokee War in an account for rum, which "was absolutely necessary to encourage the men to build Fort Ninety Six."⁵⁹ The references to tobacco before the Cherokee War are few, but these indicate that it was commonly used. A poor man at Ninety Six had tobacco planted along with his crop and vegetables; this was probably for his own consumption and, perhaps, for trade with his neighbors, for it does not appear that the back country sold tobacco at this time.⁶⁰

With violins the region was well supplied; several of them by one chance or another get into the records. Moses Hendrick had one on Indian Creek, another occurs in the Congaree inventories, a third in Orangeburg and a fourth at the Cheraws. Martin Friday, at the Congarees, as well as John Tobler at New Windsor, had "a small sett [of] House Organs", but no others are mentioned. In the varied assortment of articles left by robbers in a sack hidden in a hollow tree on Twenty-Five Mile Creek, near Pine-tree Hill, in 1767, were two Jews harps. At a belated Regulator affair on a branch of Stevens Creek in 1772 a drum was kept beating and a fiddle playing while the offender received his five hundred lashes.⁶¹

It does not appear that life in the tiny clearings of the great forest made the back countrymen somber or melancholy; on the contrary, the oc-

⁵⁸ Fulham MSS, S. Carolina (Library of Congress copies), No. 51; JC, Apr. 10, 1753, above, p. 142; Inventories, 1753-1756, pp. 236, 1758-1761, pp. 275, 394; PR, XXII, 201 (Glen to Board, Sept. 29, 1746), Hillsboro Plat (below, p. 253), *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 142.

⁵⁹ Inventories, 1751-1753, pp. 41, 469, 1758-1761, pp. 22, 483; Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, I, 96, JCHA, June 11, 1760. William Calhoun's journal (above, n. 53) from 1760 to 1771 records frequent sales of rum, but late in the decade these gave way to "liquor" which apparently meant whiskey.

⁶⁰ Above, p. 120; Inventories, 1751-1753, pp. 107, 470; JC, Mar. 19, 1735.

⁶¹ Inventories, 1758-1761, pp. 89, 274, 468, 585, 589; above, p. 69; *SCAGG*, Oct. 16, 1767 (adv't. of J. N. Oglethorpe); JC, Feb. 3, 1772. There were Jews harps in Thomas Brown's inventory (1746-1748, p. 164).

casional glimpses of them when they were not concerned about the appearance of their letters or speech show them to have been a very cheerful people. Their life was simple and usually hard, but nature was bountiful, and there was no necessity for unrelieved toil. The climate and every creek and wood were a continual invitation to outdoor sports, and winter evenings by firelight or occasional candle were not without their resources even though spinning, carding, and other tasks required much of the time.

Only on the northwest frontier, its nearest approach to one of the major Indian tribes, does the back country seem to have gathered a considerable number of the idle and vicious, the Indians and the Indian trade attracting rougher elements like those to be found in Saxe Gotha in the earlier days. Even there, however, the forces and the desire for law and order were distinctly uppermost; there were few who did not earnestly wish for advance of settlement and all that went with it. Elsewhere in the piedmont the record is remarkably good. The reasons are not far to seek. The criminally minded were as yet little drawn to the region—there was not much to steal—and the idle and worthless contrived to stay in districts farther removed from Indian dangers. Those who came were the responsible type who sought land and wealth, or, if that were out of reach, at least comfort and independence. To some very serious-minded persons like the Ebenezer Lutheran pastors and John Tobler, or to others like Governor Glen, desirous of writing a letter that would entertain and strike the fancy of his superiors in England, the back settlers offered excellent material for lurid imaginations to play upon. The facts, however, were against the traducers.⁶²

The council journal notes on land petitions of the late 'forties and early 'fifties indicate the petitioner's signature, whether written by himself or signed by mark, but the deeds and mortgages of the middle and back country show the inaccuracy of this record.⁶³ A fair estimate would place illiteracy between ten and twenty percent. The Germans made the best showing, the overland settlers from Virginia and the northern colonies the poorest. Failure to sign a paper, however, was no indication of economic status, for some of the owners of slaves and of considerable amounts of other property were thus listed.

In the incomplete record made by back country inventories, books are an infrequent entry. This item in James Love's estate on upper Lynches River amounted to nearly two pounds; in James Adamson's on the Wateree to twelve shillings; Benoni Fowler's books on upper Broad River were worth nine shillings, as were "Some old Books" belonging to Thomas

⁶² Voigt, *German Element*, JC, July 4, 1749, PR, XXV, 350 (above, p. 121, n. 13). For instances of bad behavior, see above, p. 121, JC, Apr. 6, Aug. 4, 1749, Sept. 1, 1752. For a summary account of the German element see G. P. Voigt, "The Germans and German-Swiss in South Carolina", *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 1935.

⁶³ Mesne Conveyances, Inventories, Wills.

Ortham near Ninety Six. In the older communities on the fall line and below, inventories made before 1760 show that John Jacob Riemensperger of the Congarees had sixty-four "old Dutch books," Robert Millhouse of the lower Wateree had over seven pounds worth, John Fallowfield of New Windsor had twelve "reading" books appraised at seven shillings, and John Tobler's library was worth over twenty-one pounds. James Gerald of the Congarees had a two-volume set of Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* which was valued at six shillings.⁶⁴

Petitions from the back country were probably written out at times by a Charleston lawyer or the clerk of the court, but some evidently were put to paper without such help, and the wording of the letters copied into the council journal or the Indian Books bears evidence of fairly faithful transliteration. They were written with what skill and knowledge of English the writer could muster—for like others of the day they wished to appear well on paper—and on the whole are no discredit to their section. The papers and letters of the less learned, and of those who approached dangerously near to illiteracy, more often than not had some saving grace of simple and effective language, awkward, perhaps, but all the more charged with meaning for being hard-won. The writers had been little touched by the wordy style of the day; what they knew was to a large degree the English of the King James version, even though they perhaps did not get it direct from that source. Mary Cloud's affidavit was written out before a German justice of the peace in Saxe Gotha or on the Cherokee path below, and doubtless all the help available was rendered the worthy squire in putting it down. But there was little time for polishing a paper in a case in which time was vital, and its stark simplicity, its dignified and rhythmic prose, quite certainly represented the speech of the woman who had survived, as Governor Glen put it, to tell "the whole of the Dreadful & Bloody Scene."⁶⁵

A study of these back countrymen in the middle of the century impresses one with their soundness, their integrity, their goodly heritage of ideas and customs. With equal force comes the realization that conditions in their new home were violently upsetting to their previous habits and social organization, and that there was as much of threat as of promise in the situation. In the prevailing economic equality, in the lack of government and of church establishment, there was the foundation for a society more democratic and free than ever known before to these immigrants save to those who had come from the back country of other colonies. The stimulus of the new independence, the demands upon the family and upon each re-

⁶⁴ Inventories, 1753-1756, pp. 237, 405, 1751-1753, p. 471, 1758-1761, pp. 341, 399, 483, 1761-1763, p. 31, 1763-1767, p. 265. For identification of Love, see JC, Dec. 6, 1757, Ortham, JUHA, Feb. 4, 1755, Fowler, P, VII, 257.

⁶⁵ Above, p. 122, JC, June 18, 1753.

sponsible member of it, developed a high degree of individualism, and for the most part showed these settlers at their best. The obvious danger, however, was that society in the back country would break down by reason of this very individualism and isolation, this lack of agencies like schools and churches which could organize the community, utilize and foster its intellectual and spiritual resources, and maintain stimulating and improving contact with the progressive influences of the outside world. The critical problem was therefore whether the plain vigorous culture characteristic of the best of these people could strike root in the soil and draw new strength from its bounty, its beauty and its hardships.

Brief though their sojourn had been in the Carolina piedmont the settlers were striving, both consciously and unconsciously, to preserve if not to improve upon the heritage they brought with them. The efforts were sometimes effective, more often pathetically inadequate, but whether they took the form of attempts to educate children, to acquire handsome clothes or tableware, to set up churches for the improvement of the morals of the settlement, or of moves on the part of ambitious individuals to get for themselves the offices and scanty emoluments that lay within their reach, the tendency was to establish in the back country the social organization as well as the agencies and standards these leaders had known on the coast or in the old country. Under the circumstances it was even more difficult to make headway toward establishing a superior class than to set up schools and churches, but the obstacles were economic and natural, not the outgrowth of any conscious or organized effort to set up democratic opinions and institutions. The foundations of democracy had been laid, but its growth was not to come until the next generation.

More success attended the effort to achieve the simpler and more tangible standards or institutions of the older society. Sheer illiteracy was kept to a minimum, and the absence of evidence to the contrary indicates that for this elementary education the children were dependent on their parents. The results even in the homes of those who had a fair education were likely to be meager, although John Pearson succeeded well enough in his own task, and farther down, on the border of the middle country, John Tobler appears to have imparted his almanac-making craft, if not all of his superior learning, to his son.⁶⁶

But most of the work of education fell to the church, and the teaching of creed or catechism to the young, the grappling of the elders with the uncompromising theology of the day as it was set forth in the occasional sermon or in community prayer-meetings, went far toward preventing

⁶⁶ Above, p. 69. John Tobler Jr. appears to have lived until 1790 at least, and to have married about 1760 (JC, Apr. 6, 1762); presumably he grew up in South Carolina. In 1764 the *Gazette* listed nine places on the fall line and in the back country where subscriptions might be left for the paper, and a score of others in the middle country (Aug. 25, Oct. 1, 1764).

intellectual stagnation.⁶⁷ There was yet another secular service rendered by the church. It is improbable that the majority of the settlers of any nationality represented in the back country had great religious interest, but the church members as a rule were the more substantial elements of the population, and thus the leaders were brought into more effective organization. In turn the services strengthened the hold of the church upon the affection and the imagination of the people and increased the comfort and joy it gave to those who were able and willing to do its bidding.

For these purposes there were in the back country in 1759 only five or six fully organized churches—the Waxhaw and Fishing Creek Presbyterian Churches, the Baptist Churches on Lynches River, Broad River and Fairforest Creek, and probably the German church on Crims Creek. Occasionally communities were visited by ministers from the middle country churches or by missionaries from the northern colonies. Nor were the Anglican leaders in the low country and in England unaware of the dangers and opportunities on the frontier, although in 1759 the only practical results were the short-lived missions to the fall line settlements.⁶⁸

The problems which vexed the back country, and the scanty list of forces and agencies which it could of itself muster for their solution, throw into strong relief the role, actual and possible, of the government which should have been greatest of all institutions for the purposes of order and progress. In appearance political authority was lacking to a degree almost startling. There was no court outside of Charleston, with the exception of the justices of the peace who had the authority to try cases involving about three pounds sterling or less, to issue warrants for the arrest and transportation of offenders to the provincial court, and to hear the appeals of servants having grievances against their masters. For warrants which they issued or executions they granted, the justices received fees of eight or nine pence; the few constables had similar fees for serving these papers, and about a penny and a half mileage. Petty breaches of the peace, small

⁶⁷ Note the prayer meetings conducted by Pearson and John Tobler (above pp. 72, 157). In the Congarees Herman Geiger had—besides a Bible—a sermon book and five psalters, and William Howell had three volumes of "Arskens Sermons" (Inventories, 1751-1753, p. 107, 1756-1758, p. 178). Of physicians, whose professional training might have served to raise the standard of education as well as that of physical well-being, the back country probably had none in 1759. Dr. John Cantzon was in the Waxhaws in 1763 (JC, Dec. 6, 1763, P, VIII, 340, X, 55), and a year earlier Dr. Abraham Anderson in the forks of the Broad and Saluda advertised his offer to cure "CONSUMPTION, CANCKER, or inward IMPOSTHUMES" (SCG, June 19, 1762). On the fall line were Dr. Benjamin Farrar, in 1757 (Mesne Conveyances, 2T, 538-541), Dr. William Tucker, in 1765 (*ibid.*, 3E, 383-389), both of the Congarees, and Dr. J. J. Sturzenegger, in New Windsor in 1765 (adv't., SCG, June 8, 1765).

⁶⁸ See above, pp. 143, 145, 155, 158. The importance of the church in the back country was further emphasized by the South Carolina law which required performance of the marriage ceremony by a minister, whereas in North Carolina the justices of the peace had this right (*Stats.*, II, 289, *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, I, 601, VIII, 208).

damage suits and collection of taxes were thus provided for, while serious offenses could be tried only by sending the criminal to Charleston to jail, and by forcing witnesses to make the long and expensive trip.

For the present, however, Indians were a greater danger to the back settlers than lawless persons of their own color, and the fourteen captains of militia resident among them were charged with the duty of registering every white male from sixteen to sixty. The officers had the authority to summon the men for drill when they should see fit up to six times in the year, and to call out any number needed to repel an Indian attack.⁶⁹

Slender as was this political machinery it sufficed surprisingly well until the Cherokee War; the country was too thinly settled for the inhabitants to have much need of courts for civil relations. As yet the idle and lawless elements had not resorted to it in large numbers, while the militia system, supplemented by occasional troops of rangers, gave the back country almost as much protection as that enjoyed by the coast. The settlers themselves complained little—perhaps because they realized how small was the likelihood that courts would be granted them.⁷⁰

Whether viewed from economic or social angles, the South Carolina back country in 1759 presented problems and possibilities as interesting as important. Good land that was practically free and a mild and healthful climate were developing a sturdy and independent population of small farmers, while lack of markets prevented the rise of a wealthy class. A few indomitable and enterprising spirits might gain the status of small planters and lay the foundation of an effective organization and leadership for the future, but this was no serious disturbance to the rule of substantial equality. The processes of immigration had brought to the region a population which was on the whole very desirable, and a goodly number who lacked only polish and wealth to vie with the ruling class on the coast. However, though its make-up was essentially sound, and its economic conditions gave it a common denominator, this back country society was no society at all; it was rather a mixture of various racial and religious elements with half a dozen rudimentary centers and few unifying influences. The back country was separated from the tidewater and its well established institutions by the wide and thinly settled middle country, and by other barriers even more serious. Indeed, many of its interests and connections drew it to the piedmont settlements of the colonies to the north, and the problems of the South Carolina tidewater, as of the coast country

⁶⁹ For the justices of the peace see *Stats.* III, 17, 131–132, 268–269. The militia act of 1747 (*ibid.*, IX, 645–663) was in force until the Revolution (*ibid.*, p. 663, IV, 206–209, 294–297).

⁷⁰ An anonymous letter from the Broad and Saluda in 1762 (*SCG*, Apr. 3, 1762), protesting the injustice to the dissenting back country involved in the Anglican establishment, listed only one other grievance, and that incidentally—the burden of the land tax which taxed all lands alike. Disposing of property by will involved probating it in Charleston, and few did so, depending instead, apparently, upon deeds—see for instance, JC, July 3, 1753.

of the other colonies, were being made more complex and difficult by the rise of an American back country section. Nevertheless economic improvement demanded access to capital and markets, which in the eighteenth century could be found only on the coast. Already progress had been made toward establishing these connections, although it was far from clear whether their development in this province would answer its needs.

There were thus two great issues at stake in South Carolina—what would the back country itself develop into, and what would be its relations with the tidewater? Both proved to be of vital concern to the low country, and from time to time during the next fifty years forced themselves upon the attention of its leaders even to the obscuring of their own proper concerns. Both geography and the social and political situation threatened to evolve a colony of totally dissimilar and separate sections, neither of them constituting a well rounded economy or society, and neither large enough to achieve any high development. The South Carolina tidewater was one of the best governed units in the British empire, but its leaders were at present absorbed in their own politics and in the unprecedented expansion of their industry; the immediate problems and the future significance of the back country made little impression upon them. But, as is common in such cases, military needs enforced a measure of unity and strengthened organs of control which otherwise would have remained weak. The same process was going on in other colonies, but in few were the issues so critical as in South Carolina. The Seven Years War now came upon the colony, and was to have potent influence upon the later developments of the back country, and on its relations with the tidewater.

The middle country in almost every important respect was a transition from the tidewater to the piedmont section, and the problems just surveyed emphasize the significance of its role. Its population of nine thousand whites and near fifteen hundred slaves was spread out in long strips paralleling the rivers and occasionally expanding as in Amelia and Orangeburg. Slaveowner and small farmer were side by side in most of this section, save that the swamp areas were left almost entirely to the former. Frame houses with detached kitchens and smoke-houses were common, and inventories indicate that the planters, but probably not the farmers, used better methods than did the back countrymen. Crops of piedmont and coast were grown and more cattle raised than in either of the other two sections. No doubt many of the small farmers profited by rice and indigo to some extent,⁷¹ but the capital and type of labor required largely restricted their cultivation to the plantation system. Transportation was a grave problem, but not so great a barrier to progress as in the piedmont. On the Peedee, Wateree, Congaree and Savannah boats ran to

⁷¹ This is indicated by the rice and indigo advertisements.

the fall line, but, thanks to the greater directness of the roads and the ease of building them, most of the traffic was by land.

Racially the middle country was as mixed as the back country, but the South Carolina element was much larger than in the piedmont, and was clearly dominant. As in the back country there was no barrier between elements, save that the language of the German-Swiss cut them off from the English speaking groups. However, in contrast with the back country situation, the scattered nature of the middle country German settlements brought assimilation of the Switzers obviously nearer; it might even be said to have begun.

So far as schools were concerned the middle country furnishes no more evidence of organized community work than does the back country. But the number of ministers, the number of planters living near one another who might together employ a tutor, and the comparative accessibility of Charleston with its advantages, held out adequate promise for educational development. The inventories of Tobler, Herman Geiger and others show the means and desire of the leading men for the finer things of life, and there were others besides—for instance William Seawright of Beaver Creek, a few miles above Amelia, who had pictures appraised at forty-six shillings, and two mahogany tables.⁷² In religion the section was as much a transition as in other respects, for while the tidewater was dominantly Anglican, with a strong dissenter minority, the middle country was dominantly dissenter although most of its leaders were Anglican.

In government the middle country had some of the advantages of the tidewater, and most of the disadvantages of the back country. Its justices of the peace were more numerous, and it was nearer the provincial court in Charleston. In 1759 St. Mark's was the one parish in the middle country proper; not until 1768 were two more established, St. David's and St. Matthew's. With these slender systems of courts and representation the middle country was not wholly content, and long before the worse treated back country voiced a protest, Peedee settlers called for courts, and Amelia, Orangeburg and Williamsburg asked for representation.⁷³

For the present the middle country seemed to be equidistant from the other two sections, but the drift, for the time, at least, was toward the tidewater: for a decade the small farmers coming into the province had been clearly avoiding the entire low country and going to the cooler and less swampy piedmont, while the phenomenal development of indigo, rice and slave-holding was steadily pushing the plantation system up the rivers toward the fall line. Nevertheless, even if this process continued apace, the origin and the continued existence of small farmers in the middle

⁷² Inventories, 1758-1761, pp. 469-470.

⁷³ *Stats.*, IV, 35-37, 230-232, 298-302, JCHA, Mar. 17, 1752. Williamsburg and Purrysburg, tidewater rather than middle country townships, were within reach of Prince Frederick's (1734), and St. Peter's (1747).

country guaranteed a certain amount of sympathy for, if not connection with the piedmont, and was one of the best promises of provincial unity. In this respect alone it would have stamped the settlement program of the thirty years preceding as a conspicuous success, for otherwise the middle country probably would have gone largely unsettled until the piedmont had grown into a populous and utterly isolated section.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SOUTHERN INDIANS AND THEIR TRADE, 1731-1759

The back country was primarily the product of internal conditions in the province and in the colonies or countries which contributed its immigrants, but problems of frontier defense constantly affected its growth and sometimes profoundly influenced its institutional development. The danger from the Indians and the warfare with them retarded the settlement of one district and thus indirectly encouraged that of another; it kept out some types of settlers, and for the others increased their dependence on the provincial government while it forced them to a more effective organization and community cooperation than would have been possible under other circumstances.

For the most part the role of the backcountryman in this business was altogether passive. In the painfully worked out diplomacies and innumerable intrigues which were the Englishman's, the Frenchman's and the Indian's way of getting along with one another he was never consulted and seldom considered. Nevertheless he was a potential factor of great importance, for when diplomacy and intrigue failed he must defend the colony or lose his home.

When Governor Johnson reached Charleston in December 1730, the province had recovered most of the ground lost in the collapse of 1715. The Indian trade was larger than it had been in the years immediately preceding the Yamasee War, although relations with the Creeks and Cherokees were uncertain and the French had taken advantage of the troubles of their rivals to establish Fort Thoulouse, or the Alabama Fort, as the English called it, at the forks of the Alabama River.¹ The Carolina leaders now attacked the old problem with renewed vigor, the Commons as usual seeking peace and security, the council listening to merchant and trader and their schemes for enlarging trade and empire.

The Indian trade act of 1731 provided for a commissioner with a salary of a hundred pounds a year, who, subject to the orders of the governor, was to visit the Indian nations and Fort Moore, hear complaints of Indians against traders, and, if he found it necessary, fine the trader and take his license from him. To enforce his authority he could summons other traders as constables. The trader as principal paid an annual license fee of four

¹ See above, pp. 13-14, and Crane, *Southern Frontier*, ch. XI, and pp. 256, 328-331. The Spanish threat was through the danger of slave insurrection rather than through their slight influence with the Indians.

pounds six shillings, with the privilege of taking two white men with him, but paying for others in proportion. Each trader was restricted to the Indian town named in his license.²

In 1734, following the murder of traders by Creeks and a threat of some of the Cherokees to kill their traders if they did not lower prices,³ the House was strongly tempted to repeat the 1716-1721 experiment of government operation of the trade. But the protests of the merchants had weight with the council and caused a compromise.⁴ Already steps had been taken looking toward the building of forts in the Indian nations, and the colony of Georgia was now brought into the South Carolina plans. In a conference of committees of both houses with Oglethorpe in March 1734, the latter agreed to put a garrison of twenty-four men among the upper Creeks, increasing the number to thirty the second year, if the South Carolina government would pay to Georgia the equivalent of about £570 the first year and £640 the second—probably the entire cost of the proposed garrison.⁵ Meanwhile the offending Cherokees were brought to terms by a resolution completely stopping their trade, and at the time they made their submission they sold a piece of ground for a fort which was evidently located near Chauga, a lower town on the Tugaloo River where the Georgia Cherokee path converged with a branch of the Ninety Six path.⁶

For building these forts and for securing a more responsible type of Indian trader the two houses agreed in November 1734 upon an act which added seven pounds three shillings to the license each principal trader had to pay, and imposed a duty of nearly a penny on every skin they bought.⁷ If this law could have been enforced and the southwestern trade kept under a single control it would have been a potent factor in maintaining peace and British influence among the Indians of this troubled frontier.

Oglethorpe sailed from Charleston in April 1734, immediately after the agreement for the Creek garrison. He was present at the meeting of the Georgia Trustees the following January when an act for the regulation of the Indian trade was adopted which for the most part accurately copied the wording of the South Carolina act of 1731, with a clause ex-

² *Stats.*, IV, 327-334. Chickasaw traders, because of the distance and the need to supply those Indians as cheaply as possible, were exempted from the license fee. This act was the last of a series which, after the experiment of 1716 with a government owned trade, brought the system back to the model of 1707 (*ibid.*, II, 309-316, Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 193-200).

³ JC, Aug. 16, 1732, *SCG*, May 11, 1734 (see also "Publicola", Jan. 27, 1733); PR, XVII, 189 (Johnson to Board, Nov. 9, 1734), JCHA, Dec. 7, 1732, Dec. 11, 1733.

⁴ JUHA, May 29, 31, 1734; JCHA, May 21, 22, 24, 28, 1734.

⁵ JCHA, Mar. 9, 1734, Mar. 18, 21, Apr. 18, 28, 1735; *Stats.*, III, 402. Compare the cost of the Fort Moore garrison—*ibid.*, p. 390.

⁶ JCHA, Nov. 22, 1734, PR, XVII, 189-191 (above, n. 3); JUHA, Nov. 23, 1734; Haig, Map of the Cherokee Country; *SCHGM*, XIX, 157-161; see also JUHA, Feb. 21, 1734.

⁷ JCHA, Nov. 13-16, 21, 1734, JUHA, Nov. 14, 1734 *Stats.*, III, 399-402. The duty was sixpence currency, the act was to be in force two years.

cluding all traders not licensed by Georgia from the territory of that province. Enforcement of the act was provided for by orders from Oglethorpe and the Trustees to Captain Patrick McKay, the officer who had been commissioned to establish the Creek garrison. McKay at once began a drastic reorganization of the Carolina trade and traders in the Creek, Chickasaw and Cherokee towns.⁸

The Carolina protests against this attempt at a monopoly of the Indian trade were first directed to the Trustees. Oglethorpe was not suspected until a letter was received from him expressing his determination to enforce the act, and intimating that a few men engaged in the Indian trade were trying to force their own interests at the sacrifice of those of the public. A patched-up truce failed to bring even temporary peace,⁹ and it was not until 1738 that the matter was settled by an order of the crown to the Georgia authorities to issue certificates without charge to all traders licensed from South Carolina.¹⁰ As a consequence the South Carolina assembly in 1739 set the license fee of traders at twelve shillings with no extra charge for employees. Traders were forbidden to credit Indians for more than six buckskins worth of goods; the commissioner's salary was reduced and no provision was made for him to visit the Indian nations. Otherwise the act was essentially the same as that of 1731. It was continued till 1751.¹¹

The results of Oglethorpe's venture into Indian trade regulation and Indian diplomacy reflect no credit on any of the parties to the controversy, and least of all upon himself. Instead of using his prestige to strengthen the hand of the South Carolina assembly in its promising move for effective regulation and frontier defense, his efforts were bent to transferring the trade to the village of Savannah and its control to the inexperienced and wretchedly organized Georgia government. To the officials of South Carolina his conduct had all the appearance of double-dealing and his sending an armed force to eject English traders, without previous attempts to effect a peaceable settlement of the dispute, thoroughly warranted the remark of a Creek headman "that he had never seen such doings by the White People before." Cordial relations between the two governments

⁸ Jones, *History of Ga.*, I, 171, 174; *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, I, 25, 31-43, 184-185, 197-198; JCHA, Mar. 19, 1735, Dec. 15, 1736 (Appendix no. 5). See also JCHA, Mar. 5, 7, 21, 22, 25, Apr. 24, 25, 1735 and JUHA, Apr. 25, 1735; PR, XVII, 396-444 (Broughton to Board, October, 1737).

⁹ PR, XVII, 381-382, 442-444 (Georgia Trustees to Capt. Patrick McKay, Oct. 10, 1735—see Board Trade Journal, Dec. 17, 1735); above, n. 8; JCHA, May 6, 25, June 26, July 13, 15, Dec. 15, 1736; JUHA, May 27, June 26, 1736; *Stats.*, III, 448-449; *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, XXI, 118, 184, 195, 206-207.

¹⁰ JCHA, Dec. 15, 1736, Dec. 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 1736; JUHA, Dec. 11, 1736, Oct. 7, 1737, *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, I, 282-283, PR, XVIII, 118-152 (Board of Trade Journal, May 19, June 6, 9, 18, 21, Aug. 3, 1737), 289-297, XIX, 79-84 (Board to Council Committee, Sept. 4, 1737, Order in Council, May 25, 1738).

¹¹ *Stats.*, III, 517-525, 587, 646, 754. The commissioner's salary was not set in the act, but he was paid £14:6 a year—for instance, *ibid.*, p. 538, IV, 70.

were destroyed and they now began to compete in laxity of trade regulation. A number of traders moved over to Augusta for convenience, but a Savannah official despondently noted during the controversy that when the newly licensed traders came down with fifteen thousand pounds sterling worth of skins to trade they were forced to go on to Charleston with them.¹²

The South Carolina frontier defenses at this time were primarily devised for protection against the Indians, and from 1731 to 1733 were manned by seventy-seven men. Garrisons were stationed at Fort Moore and the Pallachucolas, sometimes called Fort Prince George, guarding the crossing of the lower Creek path over the Savannah. The crew of a scout boat and a troop of rangers likewise covered that exposed district. From the founding of Georgia till the Indian trade dispute the scout boat and a detachment of rangers were put under Oglethorpe's orders, and served south of the Savannah. But in September 1736 their pay came to an end, despite Broughton's urgent request that they be continued—both for purposes of defense and lest the colony of Georgia "give some ill turn thereof at Home". In this year the Fort Moore garrison was reduced to sixteen men.¹³

In February and March 1737 the prospect of a Spanish attack on Georgia from Havana caused hurried preparations for defense of the broad inlets and the thin settlements from Port Royal to the Altamaha. At Port Royal a small fort, afterwards called Fort Frederick, and a troop of rangers were placed, and orders were given for bringing four or five hundred Creeks and their traders, the Uchees, and the New Windsor Chickasaws to defend the Altamaha and the Savannah. It was designed to have three or four hundred Cherokees lie in reserve on the Santee, to overawe the slaves "more dreadful to our Safety," Broughton said, "than any Spanish Invaders". Though this alarm subsided there was still danger from the Spanish forces at Havana, which could use St. Augustine as a base for an attack upon the isolated English colonies. In 1738 therefore the British government sent a regiment of troops to the Georgia coast, and in September Oglethorpe arrived as general and commander-in-chief of the royal forces in Georgia and South Carolina.¹⁴

The war with Spain, of which these alarms were the precursors, was at last declared in 1739. Oglethorpe wished to seize the opportunity to capture St. Augustine and thus end forever the Spanish peril to the southern coast. Despite the prevailing depression in the rice industry, the as-

¹² See, for instance, JC, May 11, June 7, 1750; JCHA, Dec. 7, 1749; *Col Recs. of Ga.*, XXI, 186. For the headman's remark see JCHA, Dec. 15, 1736.

¹³ *Stats.* III, 316, 359, 390-391, 446, 481; JC, Jan. 26, 1733; JCHA, Jan. 19, 1733, Mar. 18, Apr. 13, May 29, July 17, 1736, Jan. 18, 1737; JUHA, Apr. 8, May 27, 1736, Jan. 14, 1737.

¹⁴ JUHA, Feb. 8, Mar. 19, 1737; PR, XVIII, 172-173 (Broughton to Newcastle, Feb. 6, 1737); *Stats.*, III, 510, 537; Jones, *History of Ga.*, I, 258-260.

sembly entered heartily into the project, for the Carolinians attributed the Stono insurrection and their other slave troubles to the Spaniards. A regiment of five hundred whites was raised, fifty volunteers added themselves to the force and there was an indeterminate number of Indians, including the New Windsor Chickasaws, under the command of William Gray.¹⁵ There were also five men-of-war, mounting altogether a hundred and twenty guns, and several smaller vessels. The failure of the expedition in July 1740 caused an investigation by the assembly, charged now with a debt of over seven thousand pounds. A committee of fourteen of the leading men of the Commons and the council finally presented an exhaustive report, with an impressive array of documents and depositions, which were as plain evidence of Oglethorpe's lack of resolution as of the timidity or indifference of the commanders of the vessels.¹⁶

In the counter-attack of the Spanish two years later on the forts near the mouth of the Altamaha Oglethorpe acquitted himself with great credit and complete success. For this defense he asked no aid from Bull, "since you can spare none but think myself Obligated to give you this notice that you may prepare to prevent any Revolt amongst the Negroes." The assembly, however, had already provided nine thousand pounds for the defense of the two provinces, but the eight vessels, carrying seventy-eight guns and six hundred men, arrived too late for action.¹⁷ Spain had now shot her bolt, and was thereafter only a minor problem on the southern frontier.

With the passing of this menace the external military problem of South Carolina became primarily a matter of rivalry with the French in maintaining and extending the Indian trade and Indian alliances. Until 1748 the chief theatre of this rivalry was in the southwest, involving the Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws, for during that period the French activities were directed to the Gulf region rather than to the Ohio Valley area.

Thomas Broughton and the elder William Bull, who administered the government from 1735 to Glen's arrival in 1743, were experienced and capable advocates of a vigorous expansion.¹⁸ The trade with the Creeks belonged to the English beyond any dispute, but the French, enforced at

¹⁵ See *Report of the Committee . . . on the St. Augustine Expedition* (SCHSC, IV, especially 19-21, 26, 30, 32, 46, 115-116, 126-127, 149, 150, 165-167, 171), *Stats.*, III, 551-552.

¹⁶ *Stats.*, III, 546-553, 577-579; JCHA, July 18, 24, 1740, Feb. 26, July 1, 1741. The money was to be raised by annual levies, 1741-1745. The JUHA report (July 2, 1741) has only 37 of the 139 documents of the appendix; it is printed in SCHSC, IV, 9-177.

¹⁷ JC, June 13, 19, July 4, 16, 24, 30, 1742; *Stats.*, III, 595-597, Jones, *History of Ga.*, I, 344-352, above, p. 71.

¹⁸ Compare the aggressive proposals of the council in 1742—JC, Aug. 14, 19, Sept. 3, 1742, PR, XXII, 3-4 (Board of Trade Journal, Apr. 23, May 8, 1745), 40-56 (Representation of John Fenwicke, Apr. 9, 1745). For Fenwicke, see PR, XXI, 30-32 (from Charleston, Mar. 3, 1743), JCHA, Dec. 18, 1740, Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 193-194.

New Orleans, Mobile and at the forks of the Alabama, kept the traders and their goods in perpetual danger, and were in position to block English expansion to the west. Oglethorpe's essay into Indian affairs resulted in nothing, for the garrison which marched into the Creek country did not build a fort. The Creeks were very well pleased, for the French could not prevent their trade with the English, yet offered a protection against them; as they blandly remarked to Glen not long afterward, "they were better supply'd with Goods when they lived well with both French and English." One of the motives of those desiring a Creek fort was better access to the five thousand Choctaw warriors whose market, ill supplied by the French, might be gained by the English. But the French with their forts had the Choctaws nearly surrounded, and by a judicious use of force and gifts, and by making it perilous for English traders to enter, kept the nation firmly bound. Nevertheless the bolder spirits among the English traders constantly planned to disrupt this control.¹⁹

Early in 1737 the Commons, fearing the possible destruction of the Chickasaws by the French and Choctaws and the consequent upset of the balance of power in the southwest, urged that an alliance be sought with the latter. The indefatigable trader Alexander Wood and his associate John Campbell were the chief instruments in the negotiations. But the French though weak in trade were strong in position; they nipped this attempt in the bud, and even had the Choctaws ambush the traders on their way to the Chickasaw towns.²⁰ In 1743 the Commons was for the moment so far aroused to the apparent danger from the French that it asked the lieutenant-governor to get permission again from the Creeks to build a fort. Bull promptly reported, two months later, that he had secured permission for a fort near Okfuskee town (on the upper Tallapoosa River, the first of the Creek towns on the trading path); he had also the promise of the Creeks to give assistance in building it, and with the advice of the council he had authorized some expenditures for the purpose. Wood, in turn exceeding his own instructions, sent out a hundred men to build the fort, and asked a suitable reward for them according to the number of French and Choctaw scalps they might bring in. The Commons receded from its plan of building a fort, however, and the over-zealous trader was reprimanded by the newly arrived Governor Glen and the council.²¹

Wood was a partner in the firm of Archibald McGillivray and Company, the leading trading organization in the southwest. Both men seem

¹⁹ JC, July 29, 1735, May 22, 1745. Note Alexander Wood's plan of 1731 (JC, July 20, 1731).

²⁰ JCHA, Mar. 5, 1737, June 1, 1738; JUHA, June 1, Sept. 12, 1738, Jan. 17, 18, 1739, Feb. 2, 1740. See PR, XXII, 45 (above, n. 18), and note the suggestion of the Commons that the Chickasaws be settled on the Savannah above Fort Moore (JCHA, Feb. 23, 1738).

²¹ JUIA, Mar. 17, 1741, Jan. 22, 1745; JCHA, Oct. 8, Dec. 13, 14, 16, 1743; JC, Dec. 15, 1743, Mar. 21, Apr. 20, 1744, Jan. 25, 1745; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, p. 135; Swanton, *Creek Indians*, p. 246.

to have withdrawn soon after 1743, McGillivray leaving the province, Wood retiring to live on his plantation at Goose Creek, near Charleston, while their former partners, Patrick Brown, William Studders, George Cussings and Jeremiah Knott, continued the trade. Brown was now the dominant figure, and peace and conciliation became the guiding principle of the combination of which he had control.²²

Because of the strategic position of the Cherokee country the South Carolina leaders kept a watchful eye upon that tribe. The Cherokees, however, were usually hostile to the French, though from time to time they received them and took their presents, for their prime desire was to maintain their independence, threatened by the exposure of their Overhill towns to attacks from the Mississippi. Bull, reporting that they had asked swivel guns to enable them to protect themselves, urged the crown to forestall the French by building a fort among them.²³

By 1744 the southern Indian trade had made its adjustments to changing political and economic conditions, and had assumed the lines to which it held closely until the Seven Years War. Traders secured their licenses from the Georgia and South Carolina governments as suited their convenience. Little of the trade went to Georgia, however, and that probably came chiefly from the Lower Creeks, the only towns with which the province had much to do. The Spanish had ceased to be a considerable factor in the trade; the French usually commanded the output of the Choctaws, but only a small part of that of the Creeks, while the English had the Chickasaw, nearly all the Creek, and all the Cherokee trade. The last, formerly so little regarded, had become quite as important as that of the southwest; in 1751 in a list of 37 principal traders there were 17 to the Creeks, 16 to the Cherokees, 2 to the Catawbias, 1 to the Chickasaws (who also had a license to trade to the Choctaws), and 1 to the Breed Camp of Chickasaws, a town of that people settled on the northwest portion of the Creek lands. There were about 150 traders and packhorsemen among the Cherokees in 1756, and the total of Carolina traders in the Indian nations at this period must have been more than 300.²⁴

Patrick Brown's great Indian trade organization had no counterpart in the Cherokee country,²⁵ but throughout the middle of the century there were in that nation unusually capable traders. With few exceptions they lived among the Indians, though James Maxwell, most important of them during the 'forties, was a planter and a member of the Commons House.

²² See above, p. 71, *SCG*, Sept. 26, 1741, PR, XVII, 430 (Affidavit of Knott, July 4, 1735, see above, p. 187, n. 8); *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, XXI, 67, JC, Nov. 11, 1747, Adair, *American Indians*, p. 325. For Wood see also above, p. 70.

²³ See above, p. 43, JC, Oct. 14, 1743, July 30, 1745; JCHA, May 21, 1741, Oct. 7, 1743 (see also June 2, 1742); Mereness, *Travels*, pp. 246-247, Adair, *American Indians*, pp. 240-243.

²⁴ JC, June 15, 1751, Oct. 1, 1756, Laurens, Letter Books, July 4, 1755, Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 150-151; Swanton, *Creek Indians*, p. 418.

²⁵ Above, p. 69.

Until 1746 he was the usual spokesman of the provincial government for the Cherokees, but the decline of his political and economic fortunes began about the same time, and in 1751 he was bankrupt, owing ten thousand pounds to a Charleston merchant.²⁶ James Beamer, probably a native of the province, entered the Cherokee trade in 1724, but in 1741 he was unable to appear in the settlements for fear of arrest for debt. In this, the normal state of the trader, he lived at Eastatoe, in the Lower Towns, with his Cherokee wife and half-breed sons and daughters, his slaves and cattle.²⁷

Cornelius Daugherty, in the Overhills, counted his stay in the nation from 1719. Illiterate and rougher than even the average of his fellows, he was nevertheless one of the largest traders to the nation, and liked by Indians and whites. Ludovick Grant, who traded near him, entered the Cherokees in 1725. Like Beamer he was a man of education; his carefully written letters were Governor Glen's chief dependence for Cherokee affairs and good evidence that he was the "Gentleman" Glen declared him to be. Others almost as interesting as these were Robert Bunning, the senior of them all, who had been in the Cherokees since the year before the Yamasee war, and Robert Goudey who traded only a few years in person, about 1750, then established his store at Ninety Six.²⁸ Tucked away in their narrow valleys among the Indians with whom they had cast their lot, the traders found the great mountains that shut them off from their own color and civilization a not unwelcome barrier. This wild commerce and life which had tempted them from their people and ruined nearly every one of them, had in recompense given them an existence so easy-going, yet so far removed from monotony, such bountiful if simple comforts, that their regrets seem to have been few.

As the settlements moved to the fall line, and the roads became easier, the competition between traders and between merchants became keener. The Indians were thus better and better supplied, and in turn became more and more dependent on the whites. One year's kill varied from another, and there were periods of decline—such as that between 1749 and 1751 which was doubtless due largely to the war between the Creeks and Cherokees, and to the troubles of the latter with other Indians. The export of deerskins did not recover from the Yamasee War until 1722, when it reached approximately 60,000. Rising irregularly to about 200,000 in 1745 when the skins were worth £35,000, it fell to 100,000 in 1750, and did not reach 200,000 again until 1759. A petition in 1749 from the Charleston

²⁶ See JCHA, Mar. 19, 1741, Jan. 22, 1742, JC, Mar. 29, 1748, *SCG*, Dec. 3, 1750 (advt. of Provost Marshal), Court Records, Common Pleas, Nov. 1752. He later moved to Georgia (*Col. Recs. of Ga.*, VII, 620).

²⁷ A. S. Salley, Jr., *Warrants for Lands in South Carolina, 1680-1692* (Columbia, 1911), pp. 69, 77; JC, Nov. 9, 1732, Mar. 1, 1744, Nov. 22, 1751.

²⁸ Indian Books, V, 19; JC, Nov. 22, 1751, July 6, 1753, Aug. 29, 1755, above, p. 132.

merchants interested in the trade was signed by thirty-one individuals or firms, the same number listed in a similar petition during the Oglethorpe affair in 1735.²⁹ Only two or three of the earlier list appear in the second, but in both the names were those of the leading merchants of the town. Samuel Eveleigh in the early period, followed by Thomas Lambton and John McQueen in the 'fifties, made most of the advances to the traders; they in turn resold some of the skins they received to others in the business. The investment of the individual merchant in the trade was not large, but on it he made a pretty profit, which he was unwilling to forego. There were, however, many undesirable conditions; indeed, the very increase of the traffic was based in no small measure upon unregulated competition. In their petition of 1749 the merchants forcefully described the evils of improper dressing which left horns, hoofs and snouts on the skins to increase their weight, thus adding to the cost of carriage and breeding worms. Worse still were the selling of rum and allowing reckless credit to the Indians, the abuse of the Indians by the traders and the utter helplessness of the government. The traders came to town in August, and returned shortly with their goods for purchase of skins. A hundred and fifty pounds made a horse-load, and transportation of this to the Indian country cost from three to five pounds sterling.³⁰

In December 1743 James Glen arrived in Charleston to begin his thirteen-year administration and immediately developed an intense interest in Indian affairs. At first he exercised both caution and tact, yielding to the veteran councillors,³¹ and working cordially with the leaders of the Commons. But early in 1746 a crisis developed; the Cherokees were being threatened and cajoled by the French and their Indians, the Catawbas were in danger of destruction by the Six Nations, and the Creeks were described as in dangerous mood. Glen now took matters in his own hands. Ignoring the council he called the assembly and informed the Commons that he had summoned the Cherokee headmen to meet him at Ninety Six and that he also expected to confer with the Catawbas at the Congarees and the Creeks at Fort Moore. A joint committee of Commons and council, declaring the situation was grave, expressed disapproval of the governor's action because it had not the sanction of the council, but since he had committed himself, recommended that the assembly provide for an escort of two hundred men to accompany him. The report likewise

²⁹ PR, XVII, 421 (July 4, 1735, enclosed by Broughton—see above, p. 187, n. 8), XXIII, 389 (Glen to Board, Aug. 12, 1749); Adair, *American Indians*, pp. 278–281; JC, Sept. 5, 1749; see Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 112, 329–333.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 127; JC, Sept. 7, 1749, Nov. 26, 1755; Laurens, Letter Books, Apr. 7, Dec. 11, 1756; PR, XXIV, 349 (Glen to Board, July 15, 1751). On the Indian trade see also above, p. 188, and JC, May 17, 1749. Childermas Croft was Commissioner from 1736 to 1747, William Pinckney served from that time to the Cherokee War (JCHA, May 29, 1747, JC, Feb. 7, 1760).

³¹ See, for instance, JC, May 22, 1745.

recommended that the governor be asked to give orders to repair Fort Moore.³²

Having formed the force, together with fifty gentlemen volunteers and their servants, into a "Regiment" as he described it, Glen set out on the twenty-first of April. At the Congarees he conferred with the Catawbaws who offered to escort him, but Glen, perhaps mindful of their recent quarrel with the Chickasaws, discreetly declined. Here he reassured the settlers, who feared an Indian war. At Ninety Six, attended by George Haig and doubtless also by Francis and his neighbors, the governor met the so-called "Emperor" and sixty other Cherokees, but reported nothing conclusive from the interview. Thence he went to Fort Moore and talked with the New Windsor Chickasaws and with the Creeks, returning to Charleston after more than a month's absence. The expedition cost over four hundred pounds in pay of the men alone.³³

The series of conferences, conducted by the inexperienced governor without, apparently, any leader of the council or House to advise him, constituted on the whole a grand but rather futile gesture. The Commons received the reports of the expedition and accounts for its expense in sour mood. James Maxwell was snubbed by the House when he presented a bill for certain of the expenses, and entirely lost his influence with that body, while the Board of Trade, perhaps receiving unfavorable reports from the province, answered Glen's account of his achievements by recommending that in the future he avoid such expensive missions. A conference committee of the upper and lower houses reported that the efforts of the French to win over the Cherokees and the Creeks required that an agent be sent to each tribe. The Commons agreed to provide for both agents, but no action was taken until the new assembly met in September.³⁴

At that time the new House heard further reports of the presence of French Indians in the Cherokee towns, and of "an Indian Fellow, called the Little Carpenter" who was expected to bring two hundred more shortly. George Pawley, recommended by the Commons for the agency, was a member of the House from Prince George Winyaw, a former surveyor of lands in the Welsh Tract, and colonel of the Craven County militia regiment. He had apparently no connection with the Indian trade, and Glen seven years later declared that the council considered him unsuited unless an experienced man were sent with him. The governor de-

³² *Ibid.*; SCG, May 6, 1745; JCHA, Apr. 25, 1745, Mar. 13, 15, 21, Apr. 14, 15, 1746; PR, XXII, 149-153 (Glen to Newcastle, May 3, 1746).

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-155, 199-204 and XXIV, 427-431 (Glen to Board, Sept. 29, 1746, Dec. 1751, enclosure), above, p. 119; SCG, May 26, 1746; JC, Jan. 22, 1747; JCHA, June 7, 1746.

³⁴ JCHA, June 6, 7, 14, 17, 1746, PR, XXII, 287-288 (Board to Glen, May 26, 1747), JC, Mar. 29, 1748. Each Commons House from 1731 to 1745 had lasted to within a few months of its statutory life of three years, but of the first six of Glen's administration (1745-1751), only one was allowed to run as long as a year (Smith, *S. C. as a Royal Province*, pp. 108, 409).

layed for a month giving him his commission and instructions, and thereby incurred the censure of the House.³⁵

There were many letters and papers from Pawley, but little more than titles and dates were recorded. He was insulted by some Shawnees, two white men and a negro of the party were wounded, and George Haig, who was a member of the expedition, later paid with his life for his succor of some settlement Indians. But the agent was able to send a deed signed by thirty-four of the Cherokee headmen for the lands between Ninety Six and Long Canes, thus fulfilling the provincial agreement with John and Thomas Turk. At the next session of the assembly the conference committee appointed to consider the papers of the mission recommended that a fort be established "about the Place recommended by Colonel Pawley, in order to . . . protect our Traders, and keep those Indians in the British Interest;" with the proviso that it be garrisoned by a detachment from the independent companies and that the Cherokees be required to exclude the French and Northward Indians. The Commons resolution that the fort be on the hither side of the mountains indicates that Pawley's proposal was for one in the Overhills.³⁶

In November 1746 Glen succeeded in getting a new consent from a few Creek headmen for building an English fort near the Alabama garrison of the French. Five months later, in the midst of his fruitless efforts to persuade the Commons to build the fort, there came news from the southwest that showed that the sanguine governor, like more than one Carolina imperialist before him, was preparing to burn his fingers in the Choctaw business.³⁷ James Adair, who entered the Chickasaw trade in 1744, later declared that at that time Glen charged him to do all in his power to win over the Choctaws. The Chickasaw traders always had an eye on the Choctaw trade, and the Chickasaws themselves, in danger of extermination by French and Choctaw attacks, aided in this wilderness diplomacy. Thus it came about that Red Shoes, the leading Choctaw chief, was approached by Adair and his doubtless more useful partner John Campbell, veteran of twenty years of this trade and one of the prime movers of the 1738 Choctaw revolt. Red Shoes, with a personal grudge against the French, readily fell in with the plans, and in the summer of 1746 sent three French scalps to the Chickasaw traders for the governor at Charleston. The scalps failed of their destination, but in April 1747 the Little King, brother of Red Shoes, at the head of a Choctaw delegation arrived in Charleston to propose a Choctaw alliance and trade.

³⁵ JCHA, Sept. 17, 18, Dec. 11, 1746 and list of members, May 25, 26, 1747, Apr. 17, 1753; P, IV; JC, Apr. 17, 1744, Oct. 21, 1746, May 28, 1751. For Haig, see above, pp. 58-59.

³⁶ JC, Jan. 22, Mar. 7, 1747, JCHA, Apr. 8, 11, 14, 1747, June 20, 1748, above, pp. 123-125.

³⁷ JC, Jan. 25, 1745, Nov. 3, 1746, Feb. 17, 1747; JCHA, Feb. 21, 1745, Feb. 17, Mar. 28, Apr. 8, 14, 15, 16, June 9, 10, 1747, May 16, 1750; JUHA, June 11, 1747.

At the same time Adair and his two partners, John Campbell and William Newbury, asked the assembly for a monopoly of the Choctaw trade.³⁸

Adair might have expected some countenance from Glen, for in his report to the Board of Trade the following February the governor gave the credit for the revolt to no one besides himself except Campbell and Adair, and suggested that the Board recommend a reward of a hundred guineas each for the two traders. But while Adair vainly waited in Charleston for official favors the firm of Charles McNaire and Company sent up two hundred horseloads of goods to the Choctaws. This is the first appearance of McNaire in the South Carolina Indian trade records, but his partner was the former Cherokee trader, James Maxwell, and in all probability Maxwell's equipment was used. It appears that a loan from Governor Glen financed or partly financed the expedition, for in November 1746 Matthew and Francis Roche and James Maxwell made a bond to Glen for one thousand pounds sterling to be paid a year later with ten percent interest. The obligation was assumed in 1750 by Jordan Roche, merchant and former Chickasaw trader, who had the provost marshal sell Maxwell's property at auction the next year—part of it Maxwell's share of the horses belonging to McNaire and Company. In 1752 Glen sued the widow of Jordan Roche for the principal and interest and was accordingly paid over seventeen hundred pounds.³⁹

On his arrival in the nation McNaire found himself in a sorry plight. The French and their allies among the Choctaws made war upon the English partisans, Red Shoes was slain, and the hard-put English party instead of buying goods demanded presents of ammunition. McNaire added to his troubles the hostility of the other traders, by pretending—with no apparent denial by Glen—that the governor had given him a monopoly of the trade. Glen seems to have kept most of these matters to himself, but, the assembly not being in session, he now consulted the council. On the advice of that body fifteen hundred pounds of powder and twice that weight of bullets, half of it for the Choctaws, the rest for the Creeks and Chickasaws, was delivered to Roche and Maxwell. For delivery they intrusted it to John Vann, one of McNaire's company, then or later of the Ninety Six community.⁴⁰ Instead of three months or less, the usual trip to the Choctaws from Fort Moore, Vann took eight, excusing himself on the ground of floods and lack of forage. On the advice of the council

³⁸ PR, XXIII, 75-76 (Glen to Board, Feb. 3, 1748), Adair, *American Indians*, p. 13, Mereness, *Travels*, pp. 293-294, JC, Mar. 28, 1747, May 17, 1750, JCHA, Apr. 14, 1747, May 31, 1750.

³⁹ PR, XXIII, 75-76 (above, n. 38), XXIV, 418-420, 424 (Glen to Board, Dec. 1751, and John Vann's examination); Adair, *American Indians*, pp. 314-343; Court Records, Common Pleas, Nov. 1752 (Glen vs. Admrx. Jordan Roche; Miscellaneous Records, Charleston Courthouse, MS, 1749-1751, p. 278, 1751-1754, p. 413; JC, Dec. 14, 1747.

⁴⁰ JC, Nov. 13, Dec. 14, 1747, Jan. 9, 26, 1749, May 17, 1750, JCHA, May 23, 1750; above, pp. 121-122.

other traders were encouraged to go to the Choctaws, but it was too late; the English cause was now hopeless.⁴¹ Glen had made his usual grandiloquent report of his achievements and he now had explanations to make of the relapse of the Choctaws to the French alliance. The Commons House investigated the affair, and in May 1749 decided that McNaire had won the Choctaws over. A resolution to allow him nearly £300 was lost by one vote; the House voted him £150, instead, and recommended him to the crown for reward. But a year later, on more careful investigation, a committee charged McNaire with fraud, Adair with lying, and Roche with concealing evidence. A quarrel developed between the governor and Matthew Roche, and as a result the latter wrote a pamphlet, entitled "A Modest Reply to His Excellency", in which he used such terms that the Commons House declared it slander.⁴²

Investment of a thousand pounds in the Choctaw trade, even under these circumstances, may have appeared to Glen as fully within his rights, or financing the needy Maxwell in an undertaking which could be of the first importance to the empire, may have seemed to him a public service. But whatever his motives the blunder cost him dear, and later years showed that he did not profit by the lesson. In 1761 when he was trying to get payment of certain expenses of his administration he stated that

when there had been a Scarcity of Goods in the Cherokee Nation & the Merchants in Town did not care to Trust the Traders, he has many times been obliged to procure Goods for them on his own Credit, twice to the amount of Ten thousand pounds each time, & has Notes of Hand of the Traders Bonds and Judgments to the amount of some thousands pounds, which are now waste Paper.⁴³

These investments in the Cherokee trade are indicated at a few other points in the records. He lent the trader Lantagnac money to enable him to make a start in that nation; soon after the governor's retirement the Little Carpenter, in complaining bitterly of the abuses of the trader John Elliott, said that he understood Glen was related to Elliott and concerned in the trade with him. How gossip could make use of these reports is indicated by the statement of Governor Dobbs, who had his own grudges against Glen, that he had been told that Glen had become rich by the Indians.⁴⁴

⁴¹ JCHA, June 1, 1749, May 23, 1750, JC, Jan. 12, Aug. 14, 1749, PR, XXIV, 424-427 (above, n. 39), Mereness, *Travels*, p. 282. Chickasaw traders continued as before to carry on a small trade among the Choctaws, but at considerable danger and with occasional loss—see Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 31-32, JC, May 17, 1750, May 29, 1754.

⁴² PR, XXIII, 205-207, 446 (Glen to Board, Oct. 10, 1748, and enclosure with his of Dec. 23, 1749), JCHA, May 23, 27, 1749, May 16, 23, 24, 1750; SCG, Feb. 26, Apr. 9, 1750.

⁴³ JCHA, Apr. 29, 1761; the amounts are in currency.

⁴⁴ S. C. Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country* (Johnson City, 1928), pp. 182-183, Indian Books, V, 155-157; *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 360.

Glen's role of aggressive imperialist guaranteed him more than enough trouble with the planter controlled Commons House, for such plans inevitably involved heavy cost in money if not in men. His practice of contracting debts not authorized, and of referring to other expenses as having been paid by himself, his bitter opposition to proposals for disciplining the Indians by stopping the trade, and these ill-advised investments added greatly, and unnecessarily, to his difficulties. The extreme reluctance with which the Commons empowered the governor to spend money in Indian affairs, and the polite but obvious distrust with which that house received his unauthorized bills indicate that the members at times questioned his motives as well as his judgement.

The spectacular events in the southwest during 1747 and 1748 diverted attention for a time from the Cherokees, but the situation there was only temporarily improved by Pawley's mission, and the cause of the unrest of the Indians was in no way removed. The Cherokees in the Overhill towns, uneasily watching the French on the Mississippi, frequently attacked passing parties, and from time to time talked of an English fort for protection against them.⁴⁵ The Creeks were an even greater danger than the French, but of all the troubles of the Cherokees the worst came from the Shawnees and Iroquois. The former—most inveterate wanderers of the eastern Indians—had formerly been in two branches. The smaller for a time lived on the Savannah River, where Fort Moore was later established, and had been called by the Carolinians "Savannahs", whence the name of the river; driven out by the Catawbias they had removed to Pennsylvania during and after the Yamasee War. The larger body for many years were on the Cumberland River, but about 1730 moved to the Ohio above the mouth of the Scioto, where about 1750 they were re-united with the smaller portion of the tribe.⁴⁶

The endless feud of the Iroquois with the Catawbias entered a new phase about 1748. At that time portions of several of the tribes of the Six Nations were living on the Ohio near the Shawnees—Logstown (about twenty miles below the site of the later Fort Pitt) being the chief town of this newly formed confederacy. The Shawnees were not the only elements of the group recently associated with the French. The Iroquois were always enemies of the Catawbias, the Shawnees usually friends of the Creeks, and both were sometimes friends, sometimes enemies of the Cherokees. But whatever their errand in the southern country, each found the Cherokee towns a convenient route and stopping place. The weakness of the Catawbias invited attack, and the Cherokees themselves, afraid of their fierce visitors and at the same time looking for allies, usually, whether for

⁴⁵ JC, Oct. 14, 1743, Sept. 4, 1749; PR, XXIII, 169-173 (Glen to Board, July 26, 1748); JCHA, Dec. 15, 1736, Apr. 27, 1751; Mereness, *Travels*, pp. 239-255.

⁴⁶ Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians* (2 vols., Washington, 1910), II, 530-535.

fear or favor, shielded them. The Carolina traders generally called the Shawnees Savannahs or French Indians, the Iroquois chiefly Senecas or Northward Indians, but the terms during the years leading up to the Cherokee War were almost interchangeable; most of the parties probably contained warriors from several tribes, and seem, as a rule, to have come from the Ohio settlement.⁴⁷

Early in 1748 the killing of a trader by the warriors of the Lower Towns and the abduction of Haig by the Northward Indians precipitated a crisis. Glen used the incidents to drive home his arguments for forts in the Overhills, but the Commons instead provided for rangers and a fort at the Congarees.⁴⁸ A half-hearted promise by the Commons of two hundred pounds for the Overhills fort was followed by an agreement of the two houses on a trade embargo to bring the Cherokees to terms. Upon this the governor abruptly put an end to the session and the matter was dropped.⁴⁹

In February it was reported that the new Congaree fort was complete and in May following, that Fort Moore was rebuilt at a cost of about three hundred pounds; garrisons of thirty men each had already been sent to these posts from the independent companies.⁵⁰ In June 1749, when the three South Carolina independent companies were discharged, three others were organized from the Georgia regiment disbanded at the same time, and detachments from these new companies replaced the old at Fort Moore and the Congarees. The Commons continued to pay for the two hundred men in South Carolina but refused money for those left in Georgia, and the companies continued on this status until 1758.⁵¹

The burden of defense moved the governor and assembly in January 1748 to petition the crown for reimbursement of an annual expense of fifteen hundred pounds, representing this amount as being paid "for Treaties and Presents", whereas it was in fact the total for presents and defense. With surprising promptness a grant was made to the Georgia and Carolina governments of three thousand pounds a year, not in money but in goods for presents, the first shipment arriving in 1749. Some of the goods were entirely unsuited for the purpose, however, and the need of the provincial government for money suggested the sale of the undesirable presents and the application of the money to other frontier expenses. This happy solution of the problem was put into effect and a year later the crown, convinced by a

⁴⁷ See JC, July 30, 1745, Mar. 29, 1748, Mar. 18, 1749, Nov. 14, 15, 1751.

⁴⁸ Above, p. 58, JC, Mar. 29, Apr. 7, 16, 21, 27, 1748, JCHA, Apr. 8, 28, 1748. For the rangers see JC, May 11, 1748.

⁴⁹ JCHA, Apr. 30, May 3, June 20, 21, 25, 27, 28, 1748; JC, May 7, June 4, 13, 14, 22, 28, 29, July 12, 18, 1748; SCG, July 16, 25, 1748; JUHA, June 29, 1748.

⁵⁰ JC, May 20, July 20, 1748, Feb. 8, 1749; JCHA, Apr. 16, 1746, Apr. 11, 1747, May 25, 1749; Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 5. The Commons later paid £143 more for the work on Fort Moore—see JCHA, May 26, Dec. 7, 1749, Feb. 10, Mar. 6, 9, 1750, Mar. 2, 7, 1751.

⁵¹ JCHA, Feb. 6, 10, Mar. 2, Nov. 23, 1750, May 9, 1751, JC, June 16, July 4, 1749, May 9, 1751; see below, p. 216.

representation from South Carolina that the Georgia government was not in position to handle the distribution of its half of the Indian presents, gave over the entire amount to the older colony. This bounty was continued until the outbreak of the next war, and afforded a welcome and needed relief.⁵²

The year 1749 was one of comparative quiet in the Cherokee country, but in the spring of 1750 the Northward Indians appeared again, killing four traders as they were bringing away their deerskins from the nation. Another party of them attacked the Catawbias, but had sixteen slain and four taken prisoners. In January 1751 the traders in the Lower Towns wrote to the "Gentlemen and Others" of the back country that there were upwards of a hundred Northward Indians on their way to the settlements who had declared that they would spare neither white nor red, and would slay all cattle and hogs they could find. Shortly afterwards a group calling themselves Nottawegas, doubtless a part of this band, had the effrontery to inform the governor that as the Catawbias were their mortal enemies they must follow them to the settlements, and if the whites harbored the fugitives they must expect their cattle to be killed.⁵³ During the six months following there came a succession of reports which fully justified the warning. In March the store of one of the Georgia traders to the Creeks at Oconee was attacked, apparently by Northward and Cherokee Indians, the store destroyed and one man killed. There was an exodus of traders from the Cherokee towns, although some of the headmen strove to reassure them.⁵⁴

Later in the month a band, apparently from the Ohio, seized and carried away four Nottawegas from a white man's home at the Four Holes, not fifty miles from Charleston. Several weeks later others, or members of the same party, insulted and frightened women at Moncks Corner. In April Indians appeared in the Congarees, killing horses and cattle, and in May came news of the murder of the Cloud family by the Savannahs.⁵⁵ During the summer and autumn months parties of Cherokees or of Northward Indians penetrated to Amelia Township, where they murdered a white man and killed cattle; to the Santee, where they committed depredations; to Lady's Island, near Beaufort, where they killed or captured five Uchees and escaped by boat; and to the seaside in Christ Church Parish, where in a skirmish with a party of the militia two Indians were killed and one

⁵² JC, Jan. 27, 1748, Apr. 21, 1749; JCHA, Jan. 27, 30, May 14, 1748, May 26, 1749, May 31, 1750; PR, XXIII, 63-65 (Representation of governor, council and assembly to crown, Jan. 30, 1748), XXIV, 384-385 (Memorial of James Crockatt, provincial agent, Nov. 14, 1751), XXVII, 47 (Glen to Board, Apr. 14, 1756).

⁵³ JC, May 22, 1750, Apr. 1, May 7, 1751, JCHA, May 26, 1750. See also JC, Apr. 6, 1749.

⁵⁴ JC, Apr. 1, May 7, 23, June 5, 8, 1751; JCHA, May 8, 1751; Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 7-9, 17-20.

⁵⁵ JC, Apr. 1, 17, 1751; JCHA, Apr. 25, 1751; Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 4; above, p. 122.

white man wounded. In only one of the affairs was the militia or any party of men able to come up with the raiders, who skulked about the swamps until they could find an undefended house.⁵⁶

The initial reports of these raids caused consternation among the back settlers from Ninety Six to the Congarees, and several hastily built forts were thrown up. Doubtless these were very flimsy affairs, but John Pearson asked for some swivel guns "to place in Each of our Flankers", and James Francis wrote that "We . . . met the Generality of the Neighbourhood, at the most convenient place, & Fortified our Selves So as to defend us against any quantity of Indians as we Imagine could come against us." The Saluda settlers, so John Fairchild reported, had entirely deserted their homes, fleeing to the Congarees or betaking themselves to similar forts. Except for the Cloud murders, the back country suffered little in the raids. In December, however, a party of Indians passed through the fork of the Saluda and Broad killing cattle, stealing horses, frightening and insulting women until in desperation Samuel Hollinshed wrote: "If wee must Suffer such Losses and Dammiges & have no Restitution wee cannot Live here for it almost brakes us poor people the Loss of Cretors & Loss of Time pray exsquse the Pen & Ink being bad."⁵⁷

During the spring of 1750 the debates of the governor and the assembly on means of defending the province and its Indian trade got no further than a report agreed to by the two houses that there ought to be an Overhills Cherokee fort built and garrisoned by the crown. But in 1751, from April to June, as one lot after another of reports of Indian outrages came in, the governor, council and Commons made earnest attempts to reconcile their violently conflicting ideas. The Commons throughout the session urged closing the Indian trade until the offending Cherokee towns came to terms, but Glen opposed this with elaborate arguments on the value of the trade, and the barrier against the French that the Cherokees constituted. He pointed out that the alternatives, if the stoppage of the trade failed to coerce the Indians, were devastation of the back country or an expedition by the province into a region all but impossible to pierce. Finally, in support of his favorite thesis that the Cherokees were well inclined, he extolled the good deeds of the past seven years and, for the most part, ignored their unfriendly acts.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ JC, July 2, Sept. 26, Oct. 1, 7, 1751; JCHA, Mar. 20, Apr. 17, 22, 1752; Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 141, 146. The attack on the Uchees was probably by Savannahs.

⁵⁷ JC, May 13, 23, June 7, 1751, Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 254-255; see also pp. 21-23. The fort described by Francis was evidently on the Cherokee path above Ninety Six (JC, May 23, 1751) and it is probable that Pearson described the same fort.

⁵⁸ JCHA, Mar. 15, 16, 17, May 26, 31, 1750, Apr. 27, 1751; JC, May 2, 28, 1751. In 1753 a party of Northward Indians murdered a German near Four Holes and ravished his kinswoman. The Commons thereupon resolved to pay a reward for the next three months of fourteen pounds for each Northward Indian

After an angry controversy over this issue and over the revival of the 1739 trade act⁵⁹ the Commons had its way in stopping the trade, with the provision that a force might be held in readiness in the back country in case this measure failed. Accordingly letters were sent to the Cherokees ordering all the traders out of the nation, and demanding delivery within two months of two headmen from each of the offending Lower Towns, and of some of the men concerned in the Oconee murder. Full assurance of loyal support was given to friendly towns and headmen, but the threat was made that if the offenders were not delivered they would be taken by force. The Georgia government was asked to withhold the Cherokee trade of that colony, but the raising of the reserve force was not undertaken. However, the Commons had provided in April for two troops of rangers for the frontier, and the next month added two more.⁶⁰

The Cherokees replied to the provincial demands with evasive promises but refused to come to a conference until the trade was restored, their attitude justifying the declarations of Robert Goudey and Patrick Brown that the Indians held the province in complete contempt. Glen, however, eager to smooth things over, declared that the Cherokee messages were an acceptance of terms. His desire for conciliation was no doubt sharpened by reports that forty Cherokees had gone to Virginia to ask a trade with that province, and even the Virginia governor's reassurance did not allay his suspicions of the ancient rival.⁶¹ The chief Cherokee headman in this move to reopen the Virginia trade was Atta Kulla-Kulla, the Little Carpenter as the traders called him, of Tomotley, an Overhills town. He had gone to England in his youth with Sir Alexander Cuming, and Goudey charged that he had spent several years among the French, returning to his tribe about 1748.⁶²

With positions reversed and apparently themselves on trial, the governor, council and certain Commons members appointed by that body for taken in the settlements dead or alive, with a standing offer thereafter of half that amount. Governor Glen, however, attempted to confine the reward for the first three months to the Indians guilty of the Four Holes affair (JCHA, Apr. 6, 7, 11, 16, 1753, JC, Apr. 7, 10, 1753). Six Savannahs were taken shortly thereafter and imprisoned, but those who did not escape were released (JC, June 18, July 3, Aug. 7, Oct. 2, Dec. 14, 1753, Jan. 1, Feb. 6, 1754, JCHA, Aug. 25, 1753).

⁵⁹ JUHA, May 10, 1751; *Stats.*, III, 517-525. This act was the most objectionable to the governor of several included in a revival bill (JCHA, May 4, 7-11, 1751). The act as finally passed differed little from the one of 1739 save in the provision for sending the commissioner to the Indian nations, at a salary of forty-two shillings a day, or, in case he should refuse to go, an agent. The latter was to be approved by the assembly if it were in session, otherwise by the governor and council (JCHA, Jan. 16, Mar. 10, 12, 20, May 8, 9, 16, 1752, JUHA, Mar. 11, 1752, *Stats.*, III, 763-771).

⁶⁰ JC, May 13, June 8, 15, July 2, 1751; Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 71; JCHA, Apr. 27, May 10, 11, 14, June 14, 15, 1751.

⁶¹ JCHA, June 8, 11, 12, 14, Aug. 28, 1751, JC, Aug. 9, 16, Sept. 1, 11, 17, Nov. 13, 22, 1751.

⁶² Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 279-280; JCHA, Sept. 17, 1746; JC, June 4, 8, 1751; *SCG*, Sept. 22, 1759.

the purpose, agreed to send a message to the Cherokees that the friends of the Carolinians had nothing to fear. The guileless leaders accepted the assurances for the friends as meant for all, and came to Charleston to reopen the trade. After much difficulty they were persuaded to sign a treaty in which they agreed to deliver up the Oconee murderer, to return all stolen goods, to send down the Little Carpenter to answer charges, and to do their utmost to prevent the passage of French and Northward Indians into the South Carolina settlements. Traders were to go up at once with goods, but no rum was to be carried. The presents provided for the occasion of signing the treaty—including a hundred and thirteen guns—were more, so Glen said, than ever before given.⁶³ Thus the half-hearted threats of expedition or trade embargo were abandoned and the Cherokees cajoled into making a set of empty promises. With the sealing of this treaty by over-generous presents and restoration of trade the prospect of coercing the offending towns became slight indeed.

The threatened destruction of the Catawbias by the continued raids of their northern enemies, and the consequent exposure of the frontier so long defended by these faithful friends, revived the project of a Catawba-Iroquois peace. Perhaps the chief obstacle to this move was the pride of the Catawbias themselves, who for a long time refused to go to New York for a conference lest it appear that they were suing for peace. The Nottawegas in May 1751 sent a talk to Glen, written at Keowee, relating the intolerable insult they received when they sought a peace with the Catawbias. "Since which time," declared the indignant Indians, "we are at War". At last in 1751 a peace was patched up between the ancient enemies in a meeting at Albany under the direction of Governor Clinton of New York.⁶⁴ There were occasional ruptures, however, for the old feud died hard, and in these frays the Catawbias did not always come off worsted. But the Northward Indians, having laid aside only one grudge, behaved little better than before in the settlements.⁶⁵

For another group of their stout friends, the Chickasaws, the Carolina government could do little. Periodically there came reports of threatened attacks by overwhelming numbers of the French and their Choctaws, and regularly there was given the expected present of ammunition with full assurance that it would be effectively employed to keep the French amused on the lower Mississippi and to that extent relieve the pressure upon Creeks and Cherokees. The journal of one of the Chickasaw traders for the year ending May 1753 listed 28 Chickasaws slain by the Choctaws and

⁶³ JC, Sept. 2, 3, 11, 17, Oct. 25, 29, Nov. 2, 5, 6, 13-15, 20, 25, 26, 28, 1751. There was also in this session an acrimonious dispute because of the unwillingness of the governor to submit to the House the originals of papers on Indian affairs (JCHA, Mar. 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, May 1, 1752; JC, Mar. 10, 1752).

⁶⁴ JUHA, Oct. 6, 1737; JCHA, Jan. 29, 1742, May 17, 1751; JC, Jan. 12, 1743, Aug. 10, 1750, May 7, 18, 20, Aug. 1, 16, 26, 1751.

⁶⁵ JC, Oct. 7, 1751, Mar. 3, Nov. 15, 1752, May 28, Aug. 7, 10, 1753.

23 of the latter slain by the Chickasaws, who also captured 5 Frenchmen. From June of 1753 to June of 1754 the Chickasaws lost 22 killed by the Choctaws, but sent word to the governor that "we still Love our Land and Libertys nor shall we Chuse ever to give it up but with the loss of our Lives." They asked the governor to send "four of your guns that make a great noise and will Kill our Enemies at a great distance we will either keep our Land or Die a long side of them guns." At this time the trader, John Buckles, said that there were 340 able warriors in the tribe, and so many women that every fellow had two or three wives at least.⁶⁶

The New Windsor Chickasaws were not so valuable an outpost as either the Catawbias or the "Far Chickasaws", but did good service, direct or indirect, during the troublous 'fifties. In a combined Cherokee and Savannah raid in 1752 two of their women were taken prisoner; "greatly Irritated", so James Francis declared, by their neighbors' part in this affair the Chickasaws raided the Cherokee towns in turn and returned with ten scalps and three prisoners. Three years later from their temporary home below Augusta they apprehended a party of Mohawk raiders, and killed five of them.⁶⁷

The experience of Glen's predecessor had shown how little profit was to be had from meddling in Creek affairs, but in his role as peacemaker among the friends of the English the governor in 1749 essayed to bring the Creek-Cherokee war to an end. This move aroused the misgivings of some of the traders who dreaded the release of energies of the surly Creek warriors, the fastest growing tribe in the southwest.⁶⁸ A series of futile efforts came to a climax in 1752 when, near Charleston, the Creeks murdered four members of a Cherokee delegation. The Commons, finding no little comfort in the troubles of the Cherokees, protested against any interference in the war while their headmen ignored the provisions of the treaty of 1751, but in the face of this opinion the governor and council fell back upon the wording of the Indian trade act recently passed which authorized the governor, on the advice of the council, to send the commissioner or an agent to the Indian country.⁶⁹

The commissioner, however, found so much to do in Charleston that he could not undertake this mission, and several others declined the honor. In desperation the governor and council in June 1752 turned to the former chaplain of Oglethorpe's regiment, Thomas Bosomworth and his half-breed

⁶⁶ Indian Books, III, 150, 168-171, 196-202; PR, XXIII, 388-389 (Glen to Board, Aug. 12, 1749); JCHA, Feb. 7, 1754, Jan. 27, 1756; JC, Sept. 4, 1749, May 29, July 3, 1754, July 1, 1758.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 71, Indian Books, III, 7-8, V, 36-37, JC, Mar. 24, 1752.

⁶⁸ JC, Apr. 27, 1748, June 2, Sept. 4, 1749, Jan. 18, 1750; JCHA, May 25, 1749, Mar. 15, 1750, above, p. 14. See also, for distress of the Cherokee Lower Towns, JC, May 5, 25, June 24, 1752, JUHA, May 6, 1752.

⁶⁹ JC, Sept. 4-7, 1749, Sept. 5, 1750, Mar. 31, Apr. 1-6, 16, 24, 28, May 25, 27, 1752. For opposition to this agency by House members, see JCHA, May 5-8, 1752, Feb. 27, 1753.

wife Mary, sister of Malatchi, the chief headman of the Lower Creeks and son of the great Brim of an earlier generation. Both had had troubled careers in Georgia. With great boldness and skill the strangely assorted pair of diplomats brought about the execution of the leader in the murder of the Cherokee delegates, and even the pledge of Creek-Cherokee peace, to be confirmed in conference with the governor.⁷⁰

Peace was finally made between the tribes about a year later, but in the conferences with the governor that point was almost forgotten among the angry demands of both Creeks and Cherokees for lower trade prices. Alarmed by reports of French activities among the Creeks the governor and assembly tried to work out a plan for reduction of the prices in return for Creek permission to build an English fort, but nothing came of it.⁷¹ Thus the decade of the 'fifties drew to a close with the Creeks still maintaining successfully their policy of peace with all the white nations, and thereby continuing to hold the balance of power in the southwest.

Meanwhile Glen was pushing his plans for the forts that were to establish English control of the Cherokee country, the grand design which became his all-absorbing ambition. In the early years of his administration his schemes, like those of the previous generation of Carolinians, were directed primarily at the lower Mississippi.⁷² But succeeding events turned him more and more to the Tennessee. For some years he was chiefly concerned with the ancient Carolina problem of holding the Cherokee towns, the key to the Indian frontier of the province, but by 1754 it was no mere scheme for frontier defense that the governor had in mind. Boldly reversing the prevailing thought he conceived of the Cherokees and their land as the key to the Ohio valley, and himself as the proper leader of an aggressive movement which would thwart the French and secure the region for Great Britain. In August of that year he wrote to the Secretary of State proposing annexation of the Cherokee lands and, at a cost to the crown or the colonies of twelve thousand pounds, the building of forts that would command the mouths of the Wabash, the Tennessee and the Ohio.⁷³

⁷⁰ JC, May 27, June 2, 4, 11, 16, 24, 1752; Bosomworth's journal and letters cover pp. 23-149 of Indian Books, III; the £317 due him (JCHA, May 9, 1754) was paid in 1754—JCHA, Feb. 10, 27, 28, Mar. 1, Apr. 16-18, 1753, Jan. 16, Feb. 1, Mar. 15, 1754. For the Bosomworths see also JUHA, June 6, 1747, JC, May 3, 1748, May 31, 1753, Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 260-261, *Col. Recs. of Ga.*, VI, 252-279, Jones, *History of Ga.*, I, 384-399.

⁷¹ JC, May 28, 30, 31, June 2, 14, 28, July 4-7, 1753, Aug. 19, Sept. 1, 18, 20, 1755, Jan. 10, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 1756; JCHA, Sept. 16, 18, 20, 22, 1755; Indian Books, III, 191-194, V, 8, 60-75, 95; *Stats.*, IV, 19-20.

⁷² See for instance his letter to the Board of Feb. 3, 1748 (PR, XXIII, 77-78), which proposed two forts in the Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes, and one in the upper Cherokees. Compare with this the proposals of a member of the council and a veteran of the old school, John Fenwicke, in his representation to the Board, Apr. 9, 1745 (above, n. 18).

⁷³ Aug. 15, 1754 (PR, XXVI, 101-102); see also pp. 52-55 (Board to Sir Thomas Robinson, June 20, 1754), and JC, June 1, 1754.

Between the eager imperialist and his objective there lay, in air-line distances, nearly a hundred miles of unsettled Carolina piedmont, over a hundred miles of the highest and most difficult mountains of eastern America, and beyond them two hundred miles more of Indian country. The practicable routes were two or three times longer. The populous colonies of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, on the other hand, had settlements separated by a scant two hundred miles from the forks of the Ohio, and a mountain region presenting not half the problems of the southern Appalachians. Probably Glen himself had misgivings as to the possibility of controlling the Ohio valley from South Carolina, for he seldom pressed the point. Instead his immediate and constant goal came to be the acquisition for the British empire of the entire country claimed by the Cherokees, stretching north and northwest quite to the Ohio. But the mountains, the course of the rivers, and the position of the Cherokees made this aim scarcely more practicable than the other.

Nor were his schemes much better suited to the problems of defense. The obvious policy for guarding the frontier of South Carolina was a fort in the Lower Towns which would be in reach from the settlements, standing troops of rangers for pursuit of roving bands of hostile Indians,⁷⁴ subsidies of ammunition to the Cherokees for their own defense against the Indian allies of the French, a strictly regulated trade which might keep the Indians fairly satisfied when they were at peace with the English, and suspension of the trade as the penalty for misdeeds. Tying the shifting and vacillating assemblies to so consistent a policy and maintaining it amid conflicting interests of this and the neighboring colonies would have been no easy task, but it could hardly have been so difficult as the achievements he actually effected.

In March 1750 Glen informed the House that he had determined to march with forty men of the independent companies to the Cherokee country to make preparations for a fort, and asked the Commons to provide for tents, tools and carriage of baggage. On the slender foundation of the House resolution of 1748—a resolution hedged about with conditions—and the crown instruction to acquire a site and to make an estimate of expense, he was probably planning to begin an elaborate plant and hoping that crown or colony would finish it. The Commons in obvious suspicion asked for the plans and orders which the governor had drawn up, and finding that he had no promise from the crown refused to consider his request, proposing instead that the crown build and garrison a fort in the northern part of the Cherokee country to keep out the enemy Indians. Glen made the application to the crown but nothing came of it. The next year, however, after Cherokee and Northward Indian raids in the settlements, a conference committee recommended a fort in the Lower

⁷⁴ Compare Glen's letter to the Board, July 15, 1750 (PR, XXIV, 69-72).

Towns, and in November the House committed itself to an appropriation of £428, called for by Glen's estimate, with the condition that the Cherokees must cede all their lands from Long Canes to Keowee River, the site of the proposed garrison.⁷⁵

Glen had already told the Indians that he would build the fort in the spring, but he allowed a year and a half to pass before making any move. Finally in August 1753 Beamer and three other traders declared that if the fort were not built the Lower Towns would move over the mountains that fall for fear of destruction by their enemies, and the council advised the governor to proceed at once. Failing to get men at the Congarees, he went on to Ninety Six where Francis found enough laborers, at two pounds a month, to bring his party to about one hundred men. On his return to Charleston in December the governor produced a deed for the land on which the fort had been built and a strip as wide as the fort extending to the Long Canes.⁷⁶

In March Glen made a report to the assembly, declaring that the building of the fort "really cost me in the whole upwards of five thousand pounds" (in sterling about seven hundred pounds), and on request of the Commons for an account of the expense, declared that if he were in a private station he would not consider eight thousand pounds currency adequate recompense for his trouble and expense. Instead of accounts, however, he merely referred to a certificate signed by two captains of the independent companies—his own subordinates—and stated that if the Commons paid the amount asked he would deem that body "not only just but Generous." A motion promptly passed appropriating five thousand pounds currency to the governor "for building the Fort . . . and for his Excellencys extraordinary services upon that occasion." The fort, called Fort Prince George, was described by Glen as two hundred feet square with walls and ravelins six or seven feet high; the former were reinforced by earthen embankments above a ditch, while the latter were made of lightwood posts. On the east side of the Keowee, it lay midway of the narrow bottom that intervened between the highland and the river, and commanded the ford leading to the town.⁷⁷

No better move could have been made for strengthening the South Carolina frontier defense than the building of the Keowee fort, and the

⁷⁵ JCHA, Mar. 15-17, May 31, 1750, Nov. 23, 1751 (see also Jan. 25, 1752); PR, XXII, 277-278 (Glen to Board, Apr. 28, 1747), XXIII, 121-122, 148-151 (Board to Council committee, and recommendation thereon, June 9, 30, 1748), XXIV, 69-78, XXVI, 98 (Glen to Board, July 15, 1750, and to Robinson, Aug. 15, 1754); above, pp. 195, 199.

⁷⁶ JCHA, Jan. 25, 1752; JC, Aug. 7, Dec. 14, 1753, Apr. 13, 1754; PR, XXV, 354-355 (Glen, Oct. 25, 1753, enclosed with his of same date to Board); Indian Books, IV, 83-84.

⁷⁷ JCHA, Mar. 7, May 1, 10, 11, 1754. See description of the fort quoted from PR, XXVI, 106-109 (Glen to Board, Aug. 26, 1754), and discussion of location, D. D. Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens* (New York, 1915), pp. 504-510.

cost was properly paid by the province. For Glen, however, it was merely the first step in the realization of his plans, and he urged with renewed vigor his proposal of an Overhills fort. It is not improbable that in these schemes Glen hoped to duplicate or to surpass the program of the Ohio Company, chartered in 1749 for trade in and settlement of the upper Ohio valley. The development of that company's plans and the approach of the French and Indian war now hastened a new clash of imperial interests and renewed the former Virginia-Carolina trade rivalry. In securing the approval of the Ohio Indians for the operations of the company of which he was a member, Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie held a series of conferences, gave large presents which were provided by the crown, and more and more essayed leadership in Southern Indian affairs. While Glen was building Fort Prince George the council received a letter from Dinwiddie saying that he had invited the Catawbias and Cherokees to a general Indian conference the following May, looking to defense of the Ohio country against the French. The councillors, jealous for the South Carolina authority over the Indians, and evidently thinking they smelt the rat of Virginia intrusion in the Southern Indian trade, replied that invitations to these Indians would best come through the South Carolina government.⁷⁸ On his return Glen was equally non-committal, contenting himself with a vague proposal to the assembly for a "confederacy" of the colonies. This plan contemplated conferences for present and future emergencies, but the governor seems to have paid no attention to the Albany Congress, appointed for June 1754.⁷⁹

Meanwhile reports from the Cherokees showed a growing unrest in that tribe, due in part to abuses in the Indian trade. Ludovick Grant in March 1755 declared that the nation as a whole had come to hate the South Carolina traders because of mismanagement and cheating and the extravagant credit given to the warriors, who were now ready for any

⁷⁸ See Dinwiddie's letters of Nov. 8, 1752, May 23, Oct. 25, 1753 (JC, Dec. 19, 1752, June 13, Nov. 12, 1753), and PR, XXV, 70-74 (Glen to Board, July 27, 1752), JC, Nov. 19, 1751, Sept. 1, 1752, Nov. 12, 1753, JCHA, Nov. 23, 1751. See also Hayes Baker-Crothers, *Virginia and the French and Indian War* (Chicago, 1928), ch. I and pp. 43-44, and W. N. Franklin, "Virginia and the Cherokee Indian Trade, 1673-1752, 1753-1775", *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, 1932, 1933.

⁷⁹ JC, Feb. 28, June 1, Aug. 1, 1754, JCHA, Mar. 5, 9, May 2, 10, 11, 1754. In March the crown ordered one of the independent companies to Virginia; accordingly a hundred men were sent with Capt. James Mackay and Peter Mercier, commander of the Congaree garrison, lieutenant. Mercier was killed at Great Meadows—see JCHA, Feb. 20, 1753, Indian Books, V, 1-4, A. S. Salley, *The Independent Company from South Carolina at Great Meadows* (Columbia, 1932). For the charges and counter-charges of Glen and Dinwiddie, see PR, XXVI, 84-105 (Aug. 15, 1754), JC, Aug. 1, 20, 1754, JCHA, Sept. 3, 6, 1754. The instructions to the Cherokees to stay at home, complained of by Dinwiddie, came from the traders, who took their cue from the desires, express or implied, of the governor and council—see, for instances, JC, Apr. 13, June 20, 1754 (letters of Sgt. Harrison, commanding Fort Prince George, and James Beamer).

measure, however desperate, which might relieve them of their debts.⁸⁰ Even more alarming was the uneasiness among the Overhill towns because of their exposure to the attacks of the Shawnees or "French Indians". The most impressive of these letters or "talks" to the governor were those sent by Connocortee of Chotee, "Old Hop", as the traders called the lame old chieftain, at this time the most influential man in the Cherokees. The danger in this situation was brought nearer home by the murder in September 1754 of the families of John Guttery and a neighbor and of several travellers, in all sixteen or seventeen. This occurred on Buffalo Creek, near the border of North and South Carolina as later surveyed, but then supposed to be in the northern province. The bodies, piled with hogs and fowls killed by the Indians, were found by a couple who had gone forty miles to be married and were returning to the waiting Guttery household. The panic-stricken discoverers remained only long enough to throw the bodies in a well. The Commons House in January provided for a troop of rangers and a reward of four and a half pounds for any white man or friendly Indian bringing in the scalp of an Indian found committing violence to person or property in the province. Glen gave orders for raising the troop but questioned the statement of the House that there was evidence that the murders were done by "our Insidious friends the Cherokees", and remarked that offering scalp rewards in this manner was a good way to start a war. He accordingly refused to issue the proclamation.⁸¹

At this point Glen's plans advanced a step nearer realization, for there was put at his disposal for building the Overhills fort a thousand pounds of the crown funds in Governor Dinwiddie's hands. Unable at the moment to commit the Commons to an increase of the sum, he nevertheless undertook to get from the Cherokees authority to build the fort. In May 1755 the Little Carpenter was coaxed to town with thirty-two other Cherokees, but despite an unprecedented amount of presents, nothing conclusive was said or done, and the governor found that he must confer with Old Hop. Accordingly in June he set out accompanied by the troop of rangers, about fifty men from the independent companies, and a few volunteers. When he reached the Congarees he found that the Cherokees were meeting him at Saluda, seven hundred strong. From the out settlements therefore the governor raised his force to five hundred men. The permission for building the fort became a mere incident of this colorful meeting, for Glen here put in effect his cherished plan to have the Cherokees cede all their lands to the king. Since there was no way to assert control over the territory the transaction meant little save an excuse for more

⁸⁰ Indian Books, V, 41-47; see also pp. 48-59, 80-82, 85-88.

⁸¹ JC, Apr. 24, June 20, Aug. 1, Oct. 1, 19, 1754; Indian Books, V, 20-21; *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 140; JCHA, Jan. 22, 25, Feb. 6, 7, Mar. 1, 5, 1755; above, p. 123.

presents. The conference seems to have been given over almost entirely to such vaporings.⁸²

The gifts to the Cherokees exhausted the royal store and Glen bought £355 worth on his own credit. He asked reimbursement by the Commons of this amount, and said that for repayment of further expenditures he would apply to the crown; the House accordingly paid the bill. In 1761 Glen declared that at one time or another he had spent five thousand pounds and more in the public service, but that if the Commons would pay him £1,084 he would renounce further claims. This time he was paid £500 as a final settlement. The Board of Trade recommended that the crown pay the remainder, but apparently it was never done.⁸³

The Saluda conference was ill-timed for the Ohio campaign, for on June 10th Braddock left Fort Cumberland to essay the wilderness, and on July 9th his force was destroyed. Dinwiddie wrote Glen later in the month that the Cherokees and Catawbias sent him a message that they could not keep their promise to aid him because Glen had summoned them to a meeting; otherwise, he said, they might have saved the day. The Cherokees were not a warlike tribe and in their present wavering allegiance it is extremely doubtful if they would have been of use in an expedition so far from their nation. The governor's only effective defense, however, was that the Cherokees would not go to war to the northward with their Overhill towns exposed to their Indian enemies, a situation due, he pointed out, to Dinwiddie's parsimony in remitting only a thousand pounds of the crown money for their defense. Glen's contention was supported by the application of the Little Carpenter the following December in which he demanded the building of the Overhills fort, declaring that the Cherokees were in grave danger of destruction the next spring by the French and their Indians.⁸⁴

On the advice of the council Glen assured the chieftain that a force would be in the nation by April to build the fort, and in January set the Cherokee situation and his promise before the Commons. The House voted a thousand pounds, "not doubting" its being refunded by the crown, and at the end of the session resolved to add another thousand to the amount, but here a quarrel with the council or Upper House caused a deadlock. Glen sent John Pearson in advance to report on supplies in the Indian country and to select a site for the fort. In May he set out himself,

⁸² JCHA, Mar. 7, 12, 13, 1755; PR, XXVII, 41-73 (Glen to Board, Apr. 14, 1756, and enclosures); JC, May 21, 22, June 6, Aug. 29, 1755; Indian Books, V, 48, 51-59. See also the account of the meeting in *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, 359-360. In February Glen vetoed a bill for the defense of the American colonies providing for an issue of £40,000 currency, equal to about £5,700 sterling, to be retired in seven years by annual taxes (JCHA, Jan. 14, 17, 21, Feb. 1, 1755).

⁸³ JCHA, Mar. 20, 1756, Mar. 22, May 14, 1757 (account of John McQueen), Apr. 29, May 1, 8, 1761; PR, XXIX, 228-233 (report of Board, May 27, 1762); Wallace, *History of S. C.*, II, 13, n. 39.

⁸⁴ JC, Aug. 12, 29, Sept. 17, Nov. 26, Dec. 6, 8, 1755, Indian Books, V, 53-59.

but was not allowed to put into effect his cherished plan. On June 1st, a little more than a week after he left town, his successor William Henry Lyttelton arrived in Charleston.⁸⁵

Thus ended Glen's long administration. In domestic affairs, by reason of his considerable ability and wide range of information, his essential integrity and sincere devotion to the public service, he made an excellent record. But in his chosen role of imperialist his success was indifferent. With his eye on far horizons he tried to use both the Indian tribes and the province for purposes which often were not calculated to solve the immediate problems of either. Master of neither force nor money, he usually attempted to manoeuvre the Commons House into such positions that it must needs carry out his designs, while to win the Indians to his ends he resorted to conciliation. The representatives of the colony, finding that he did not deal with them frankly, suspected his motives and often thwarted him. The contempt of the Indians for the South Carolina government, which had so much to do with the disaster of the Cherokee War, was to a real degree the result of tame submission to the insults of Creek and Cherokee embassies and to the grotesque deviltries of the wandering parties of Shawnees and Iroquois. Fort Prince George was the governor's best frontier achievement, but the projected Overhills fort, later known as Fort Loudoun, was no credit to him or to anyone else associated with him in the enterprise. In the imperial game some risks must be run, but the establishment of a fort which could not possibly survive a real quarrel with the Cherokees and French was an inexcusable blunder—inexcusable because the nature of the country and the position of the Cherokees were notorious. The service of the fort in keeping the Cherokees from going over to the French at the beginning of the war, under pressure of French bribes and the attacks of Indian enemies, was a real but hardly important factor in the contest. In the main the Cherokees were not formidable fighters and it is doubtful if their attitude would have mattered in the war as a whole. The fact was that the French no more than the English were in position to take the aggressive in the southwest; therefore neither the Cherokee nor the South Carolina frontier had any important relation to the war, and the problems throughout the struggle were local.

⁸⁵ JC, Dec. 17, 1755, Feb. 16, June 2, 1756; JCHA, Jan. 23, Feb. 3, 4, 7, Apr. 9, 1756; SCG, May 22, 1756, PR, XXVII, 105-107 (Lyttelton to Board, June 19, 1756).

Approximate location of other settlers' forts is indicated by the first letter of the name, except those in parentheses, which are at some point on the nearby stream.

CHAPTER XV

THE CHEROKEE WAR

Governor Lyttelton profited by the flattering reputation which had preceded him and the relief of most of the province at being rid of Glen. He promptly called the assembly, and pointed out to the Commons House the great need for appropriations for the Cherokee fort. When the House repeated its resolution for a loan of two thousand pounds to the crown he called attention to an instruction which seemed to forbid his approving such an appropriation. Upon this the Commons made the appropriation without condition, and, generous beyond precedent, doubled the amount.¹

Lyttelton recalled Glen and reorganized his expedition. The force, consisting of two companies of provincials serving under regulations of regular troops and about eighty soldiers from the independent companies, in all about two hundred men, reached Tomotley in the Overhill towns on October 1st. John Pearson, sent ahead by Glen, had selected a site which was evidently on fairly level ground, but when the engineer, William Gerard De Brahm, also appointed by Glen, arrived he declared the spot commanded from three separate nearby heights. Amid bitter differences and quarrels with the officers De Brahm proceeded to lay out the lines of the fort; it was completed in the summer of 1757 by the commander, Captain Raymond Demere, formerly in command at Frederica in Georgia. The twelve guns for it, weighing three hundred pounds apiece, were brought over the mountain passes by the energetic and resourceful trader John Elliott.²

About a mile above the junction of Tellico River with the Little Tennessee a narrow ridge extends from the higher ground toward the latter stream, ending in a bluff fifty feet or more above the river. A hundred yards back of this point a deep ditch, still plainly marked, was cut

¹ JCHA, June 18, 22, 23, 25, 29, 30, July 1, 1756.

² PR, XXVII, 126, (Lyttelton to Board, July 19, 1756), Indian Books, V, 194, 241-247, 249-253, 272-283, 290-294, 368, 375-379, VI, 74-78. P. M. Hamer, "Anglo-French Rivalry in the Cherokee Country, 1754-1757", *North Carolina Historical Review*, July 1925, notes the location of the fort, and quotes De Brahm's technical description of it, which is likewise given in Williams, *Early Travels*, pp. 187-194. See also *Memoirs of Henry Timberlake* (London, 1765), "Draught of the Cherokee Country". As the expedition reached its destination a force of Virginians was preparing to depart, having constructed a small log fort on the opposite side of the river. This was to carry out a pledge of the Virginia government made to win the allegiance of the Cherokees; it was not garrisoned (Indian Books, V, 173, JC, Mar. 29, 1756). For Demere, see JC, Mar. 16, 1756.

through the ridge to defend it against the slowly rising ground beyond. On the steep face overhanging the river the rocks aided in making the various works for commanding the wide stream, while on the south or up-stream side other intrenchments, still to be seen, overlooked the level ground which De Brahm included in the fort.³ It is easy to understand the mystification and anger of the officers at seeing a fort placed on two levels, with the higher ground itself the lower end of a ridge. But the engineer was doubtless directing his chief attention to guarding the river against passage of armed boats and the event proved that the deep ditches, locust hedges and other defenses were sufficient protection against land attacks.

De Brahm later declared that he pointed out to Glen in advance that a garrison cut off from supplies and relief by "impregnable defiles" could "but be accounted a hostage and sacrifice to a formidable and savage nation". The route to which he referred was the easier, though longer one, through the Tellico and Hiwassee valleys. By this way Fort Loudoun was about 150 miles from Fort Prince George, and that in turn, by traders' estimates, 300 from Charleston.⁴ Indeed, the only practicable military route from Fort Loudoun to the English settlements was that through the Great Valley to distant Virginia, a colony which had no responsibility for the fort, nor any considerable commercial connection with the Overhill Cherokee towns. In the ensuing war with the Cherokees two British expeditions of a thousand men or more each stopped in the Middle Settlements, without attempting the major difficulties of the path, and in the Revolution North and South Carolina forces amounting to five thousand men confined their work to the middle towns and the Hiwassee valley, leaving to a Virginia detachment the task of penetrating the Great Valley to the Overhill towns. Modern highways through the region only add force to De Brahm's remarks.

The fort was obviously intended to control the Cherokees as well as to protect them, and Captain Demere soon reported great unrest in the towns, even among the warriors formerly well affected towards the English, as the French played upon their fears of losing their lands.⁵ In November a delegation from Tellico, the most exposed and disaffected town, made a treaty with the French governor at New Orleans, and during the year the French founded Fort Massac at the mouth of the Tennessee.⁶ The South Carolina government, beset now with war-time problems, did nothing about the Indian trade and complaints and feeling against the traders became bitter. Soldiers and officers from the two forts had their

³ The description is from notes taken by J. H. Easterby and the writer, June 5, 1936.

⁴ Williams, *Early Travels*, pp. 189-190, Salley, *George Hunter's Map*.

⁵ Indian Books, V, 229-230, 272-283.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6; photostat of treaty obtained by Professor D. D. Wallace (see *History of S. C.*, II, 15, n. 43), Library of Congress. See JCHA, Apr. 1, 1757, for reference to this treaty.

part in the growing Cherokee hostility,⁷ as did some of the new arrivals in the South Carolina back country. Undesirable immigrants now appeared wandering about the frontier settlements or among the Indian towns, and in December 1757 four Cherokees were killed and scalped near the Little Saluda. The Indians in turn burned houses and stole horses, and for their excuse pointed to the encroachments on their lands.⁸

Old Hop and the Little Carpenter, the two most influential men of the nation, the one declining, the other ambitiously striving to increase his power, tried hard to steer themselves and their people safely through these troubled waters. Connocortee, old, clever, grim and elusive, held to the English trade, but could not conceal an abiding fondness for the French and their presents. The Carpenter, however, showed plainly that whatever the French offers and the Cherokee drift, in his judgment the English were the stronger and the Cherokees must befriend them. Occasionally he went to war against the French or the Indians at the mouth of the Tennessee or on the Mississippi.⁹ But the situation was full of peril for white man or red, and the demands of the war soon brought up new and graver problems.

In 1755 the assembly provided six thousand pounds for the general North American defense, five-sixths of the amount being issued in bills which were to be retired in five years, but the next year the Commons was content to regard the four thousand pounds appropriated for the building of Fort Loudoun as its contribution. In 1757 Pitt called upon the southern colonies to raise forces for the defense of the southern frontier, promising that the crown would arm, equip and feed the troops. Accordingly in July the assembly passed an act appropriating nearly twenty-three thousand pounds in bills, chiefly for raising a regiment of seven companies of a hundred men each. Two of these companies were to consist of the garrisons at Forts Loudoun, Prince George and Johnson, the remaining five represented the quota of men for service outside the province as determined at the Philadelphia conference held by Lord Loudoun, the commander-in-chief. The pay of the privates was set at six pence a day. But the regiment was recruited so slowly that by the following summer it had only four hundred men, most of them, so Lyttelton said, enlisted from the back country. James Francis, however, in a tour through the Tyger

⁷ Indian Books, V, 194-196; see also pp. 106-107, and JC, Feb. 2, 1757. Note the convincing statement of the captive Cherokee warrior in 1760 on the abuse of the Indians by drunken officers from Fort Prince George, and on ill usage by the traders (JC, June 20, 1760).

⁸ SCG, Sept. 22, 1759, Indian Books, V, 365-366, VI, 99, 103, 123, 128, 131, JC, Feb. 2, 9, 17, Dec. 14, 1757.

⁹ Indian Books, V, 245-246, VI, 57-66, 114-115; JC, Apr. 10, 1758. A reward of about five pounds in goods offered by the Commons in 1757 for the scalp of any white man or Indian in the French interest taken in the Cherokee towns, though offered to please the Cherokees, caused more trouble (JCHA, Feb. 3, 4, 1757, Indian Books, VI, 49-52, 68-74).

and Enoree region got only a dozen recruits.¹⁰ One means of very doubtful value, used on Lyttelton's suggestion, was an act ordering the justices of the peace to take up all vagrants and put them in the regiment. It is not surprising that one of the companies on the march in 1759 to the garrisons in the Indian country should have lost a fifth of its number by desertion before it reached Ninety Six.¹¹

The fact that Loudoun had spoken well of the service of the Cherokees in the 1757 campaign caused the Commons in 1758 to divert nearly three thousand pounds of the regiment fund to pay all expenses of a party of those warriors to be sent to Virginia. It was an unlucky move, as the event proved. A draft from the militia to fill the regiment, proposed by the governor in 1758, the House considered unconstitutional; the next year the Commons declared the burden of the regiment too great, and resolved to provide for only three hundred men, who should, with the independent companies, serve for the immediate protection of the province.¹²

The plan of 1758 to equip five hundred or a thousand Cherokees for service was prosecuted with vigor by the Virginia and South Carolina governments, and five hundred warriors set out for the Virginia frontier, besides two hundred others who went down the Tennessee River. During the spring months, however, a succession of letters and affidavits showed how well these Indians had studied the lessons of the Shawnees and Iroquois. Cherokee plunderings in southwest Virginia brought about clashes with the militia and settlers there in which thirty warriors were reported slain.¹³

Lyttelton, asked by Lieutenant-Governor Fauquier to make up the affair with the Cherokees, threatened the Indians if they persisted in their bad behavior, and at the same time promised presents sufficient to satisfy the relatives of the slain provided the warriors seeking revenge were recalled. The Cherokee situation had meanwhile been further complicated by the Little Carpenter who joined the expedition of General Forbes on his slow march upon Fort DuQuesne. Two days before the army reached the fort the Carpenter and his party deserted, were brought back and disarmed by Forbes and dismissed in disgrace. Serious as was the offense the South Carolina government could not afford to make an enemy of the little Napoleon, and Lyttelton, on the council's advice, solemnly forgave

¹⁰ *Stats.*, IV, 18-19, 45, JCHA, June 22, 24, 1757; JC, July 12, 1757; PR, XXVII, 349-352 (Circular letter Dec. 30, 1757), XXVIII, 105-106 (Lyttelton to Admiral Boscawen, Aug. 22, 1758; see also his to Board and Pitt, Nov. 30, 1757, Aug. 7, 1758, XXVII, 332, XXVIII, 47-48); Indian Books, VI, 104-105. In July 1759 there were 386 men in the regiment (JCHA, July 7, 1759), although at one time it had 500.

¹¹ JC, Sept. 17, 1759, JCHA, Apr. 28, May 2, 3, 1758, *Stats.*, IV, 51-52.

¹² JCHA, Mar. 17, 18, Apr. 28, May 2, 3, 1758, July 5, 7, 9, 1759.

¹³ JCHA, Mar. 17, 18, 1758, JC, Mar. 13, 14, May 12, 1758, Indian Books, VI, 137-139, 153-162, PR, XXVIII, 79-82 (Lyttelton to Board, Oct. 2, 1758).

him. But all efforts at conciliation failed to make up the breach, and in the last days of April Cherokees, chiefly from the town of Settico near Fort Loudoun, fell upon the North Carolina settlers on the Yadkin and Catawba and killed and scalped fourteen. At the same time three more scalps were taken on upper Broad River, apparently by warriors from Eastatoe, one of the Lower Towns. When the commander of Fort Prince George, in accordance with Governor Lyttelton's orders, stopped the passage of ammunition to the Overhills there was a general outburst from the offended towns, and their traders fled to Fort Prince George, few of them carrying anything whatever with them. The Lower Towns conferred with the Creeks, expecting aid from them and French ammunition and goods from the Alabama fort.¹⁴

Although in every division of the Cherokees were to be found warriors who had struck some blow at the whites, of the Lower Towns only could it be said that the greater part were hostile; in the rest of the nation perhaps only Settico and Tellico were inveterate in their enmity. There was little complaint to make of the Valley which had a tradition of warm friendship for the English, and from the Middle Settlements the "Round O" of Sticoe in September 1759 led a large delegation of headmen to the Lower Towns to threaten them into good behavior. In this situation lay the only hope of arresting the drift toward war. In times past surprising success had attended the efforts of those bold and capable agents who had executed their missions in the heart of the Indian nations, and, as James Adair pointed out years later, the divisions among the Cherokees invited such an embassy. But when the clumsy diplomacy of the commanders of the forts as well as the negotiations in the conferences at Charleston failed, the new governor was not inclined to further talk. Glen had been too pacific; Lyttelton now proved rash.¹⁵

With his council the governor took stock of the situation. Fort Loudoun, now under Captain Paul Demere, brother of Raymond, had scanty supplies of food and only 132 men, while Fort Prince George had 93 under Lieutenant Richard Coytmore. On the other hand the traders had never been more active, and the nation was full of goods, one Charleston firm having sent in the last year nearly £5,000 worth of goods besides presents. John McQueen said he had sent 2,000 pounds of ammunition to the traders since the first of June with orders for much more. Lyttelton at once ordered a detachment of seventy men from the provincial

¹⁴ PR, XXVIII, 226-230, 247-248, 257-260 (Lyttelton to Board, Oct. 16, 1759, and Coytmore to him, Aug. 3, and Sept. 26, enclosed with his of Sept. 1, and Oct. 16); JC, July 4, Nov. 1, 7, 8, 14, 16, 1758, Apr. 7, 1759; Indian Books, VI, 181-185; SCG, July 14, Aug. 4, 25, Sept. 22, Oct. 6, 1759.

¹⁵ SCG, Sept. 22, 1759, Adair, *American Indians*, pp. 248-249. Note Lyttelton's proposal for an attack, in the spring of 1759, upon the Alabama fort with a force of 2,000 men to be drawn from the garrisons and the militia (PR, XXVIII, 94-100, Lyttelton to Pitt, Nov. 4, 1758).

troops to Fort Loudoun under Captain John Stuart, later superintendent of southern Indian affairs, but it was a month before Stuart was able to get farther than Fort Prince George. At Fort Loudoun Captain Demere helped himself by killing and salting all his cattle, seventy head, and got in all the corn he had planted. The Commons in July had provided two troops of rangers until the first of November, but Lyttelton—perhaps the council also—was already planning recourse to arms on a far larger scale.¹⁶

The news of more Cherokee outbreaks reached the governor on the last day of September. The next day he met the council, five members attending including the younger William Bull, and laid the problem before them. The council advised him to send orders to the three colonels of the middle and back country militia to assemble their regiments and to draft and hold half the men for further orders. They further advised him to call on the Catawbass, Chickasaws and Creeks for aid, to have all but twenty of the troops in Charleston ready to march, and to apply to Virginia to reinforce and supply Fort Loudoun by way of the Holston River. These recommendations had been put in effect by the time the assembly met, according to call, on the fifth. The governor recounted his moves and plans and earnestly urged the Commons to make provision for payment of the militia, for purchase of half a dozen one-pounder field guns which could be carried over the Cherokee mountains, and for a small fort in the Catawbass which would enable those warriors to serve with the expedition. He pointed out that the militia law empowered him to impress supplies, but that provision for speedy payment would make the process much easier. He announced that he would himself command the expedition.¹⁷

Drastic as was Lyttelton's exercise of his authority in drafting the militia for an expedition to the frontier and perhaps across the mountains, the House promptly approved it; the proposal to pay the men for the service, a provision not in the militia acts, doubtless made it more palatable to the assembly as well as to the men themselves. A committee submitted a report with thirty recommendations including provision for a force of fifteen hundred with pay ranging from nearly fourteen pence a day for privates to about six shillings for the two colonels. The House debated the report for two days and with a few changes adopted the recommendations.¹⁸

¹⁶ JC, Aug. 13, 14, 1759, PR, XXVIII, 209-210 (Lyttelton to Board, Sept. 1, 1759), 256-260 (Coytmore and Stuart to Lyttelton, enclosed by him in letter of Oct. 16, 1759 to Board); *SCG*, Nov. 17, 1759; JCHA, Jul. 12, 13, 1759. Raymond Demere was succeeded by his brother Paul, Aug. 14, 1757 (Indian Books, VI, 76-78).

¹⁷ JC, Oct. 1, 1759 (see also Sept. 17), JCHA, Oct. 5, 1759; PR, XXVIII, 266 (excerpts of letters of Speaker of Commons to S. C. agent, read by Board, Feb. 1, 1760); *SCG*, Oct. 6, 1759.

¹⁸ JCHA, Oct. 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 1759; see also Feb. 6, 14, 1760.

On the 13th of October letters from Fort Prince George announced that two parties of Indians were on the way to Charleston, having set out, Coytmore said, when their demand for ammunition was refused. When they were received on the 19th they indicated that they were ready to make peace, though they proposed no amends whatever, and Tistoe of Keowee complained bitterly of Coytmore's abuse of their warriors and their women when he was drunk. After four days debate the council divided equally, four for carrying on the expedition, four for holding a number of the embassy as hostages until the Cherokees gave satisfaction for the twenty whites slain and the four wounded but not yet dead. The governor, however, remained unchanged in his opinion, and informed the delegation that he was going to the nation to enforce his demands; as for them, he promised to see them safe home.¹⁹

Lyttelton left Charleston on the 26th of October for the militia rendezvous at the Congarees. When he found that the draft from the three regiments did not bring out the fifteen hundred men, and that those regiments murmured at the prospect of a further demand upon them, the governor ordered a draft of five hundred men from four other regiments. Desertions were frequent—especially of the new back settlers, so the *Gazette* announced—and by the time Ninety Six was reached on November 21st, what with these losses and "Meazles, Purgings and pleuritic Complaints", the effective force was reduced to 1299 men. To fill up the ranks 200 of the new levies were ordered to follow at once. More than a hundred wagons besides carts and pack horses constituted the baggage train. At Ninety Six Lyttelton built a stockade ninety feet square around Goudey's barn to make it serve as a fort and magazine. On the 29th the expedition left Ninety Six in good spirits for Fort Prince George which it reached on December 9th; arrival of the later militia drafts brought the force up to 1700 men.²⁰

The refractory towns of the Cherokees, representing about five hundred warriors, were reported unchanged in their attitude, while the rest of the nation desired peace. Lyttelton at once dismissed all the Cherokees who had returned with him except twenty-eight of the leading men, but the fiction was maintained that they were voluntary prisoners. After ten days the

¹⁹ PR, XXVIII, 246-247 (Lyttelton to Board, Oct. 16, 1759); JC, Oct. 15, 19-22, 1759. A few days before the governor, on advice of the council, issued orders for stopping a cargo, reported to be one hundred horse-loads of goods and ammunition bound from Virginia to the Cherokee towns by way of the South Carolina piedmont (JC, Oct. 7, 14, 1759). Hewat says that the Great Warrior of Chotee, Old Hop's town, tried to speak, and that Bull tried to get him a hearing, but that Lyttelton would not listen and put an end to the conference (Carroll, *Collections*, I, 445). It is only fair to Lyttelton to say, however, that further talk with this delegation could have made no real difference in the course of events.

²⁰ SCG, Nov. 1, 3, 10, 17, Dec. 1, 8, 22, 29, 1759; JC, Oct. 4, Nov. 10, 24, 26, 1759; PR, XXVIII, 280-282 (Lyttelton to Board, Dec. 10, 1759). There was an abortive attempt of the North Carolina administration to reinforce Lyttelton by a militia draft, *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, VI 60-61, 136-137, 220-221.

Little Carpenter appeared, bringing a French prisoner, and talked about peace but avoided all controversial topics. The governor reminded him of the treaty which he and Tistoe, one of the hostages, had signed in London in 1730, under which an Indian killing a white man was to be given up for punishment. He therefore demanded twenty-four Cherokees—saying that he expected them to be from the murder gangs—to be put to death or otherwise dealt with as he might see fit. After a conference with the hostages the Carpenter went away, but returned two days later and secured the release of Tistoe, and the next day two murderers were delivered up by the Keowee warriors. Then came three more days delay, during which plans were made to destroy Eastatoe, a larger town above Keowee. But Lyttelton's force was on the verge of disintegration. Six days after the arrival of the expedition at Fort Prince George the *Gazette* repeated reports that the smallpox had lately destroyed nearly half of the Catawbias—and there were Catawbias with the expedition—spreading thence to the white settlements at the Cheraws and the Waterees, and that it had been found also at Keowee. Measles raged through the hapless camp, the men deserted in increasing numbers, and on the 12th of December only 1,105 appeared at review.²¹

On the 26th, with three-fourths of his force apparently ready to desert, Lyttelton made a treaty with the Cherokees. By it the treaty of 1730 was confirmed, and the further agreement made that whereas the Cherokees had killed sundry persons since November 19, 1758—at which time the previous troubles in Virginia had been settled—and had yielded up only two of the guilty warriors, twenty-two hostages should be held as security until that number of offenders were surrendered. Traders were to enter the nation at once. Six Cherokees, including the Little Carpenter and the Great Warrior, signed the treaty, but the latter soon repudiated his signature, and the Carpenter, adhering to it, lost his influence with the tribe. The treaty, poor substitute as it was for a real settlement, came just in time, for the second day afterwards several men of the expedition showed symptoms of smallpox. The governor "intimated" that those who cared to could leave; in an hour nearly seven hundred had made up their packs "and filed off with great alertness," and the expedition dispersed. That the scare was no idle one is shown by the fact that within the next two months fourteen cases died in Fort Prince George. The *South Carolina Gazette* in April following said that of about six thousand persons who had had the disease naturally or by inoculation since February, about 380 whites and 350 negroes had died. According to Adair only the spread of the plague in their own towns and their internal dissension kept the Cherokees from attacking the de-

²¹ *SCG*, Dec. 8, 15, 22, 1759, Jan. 12, 1760. If Tistoe went to England with the Cuming mission he was presumably the "Tathtowe" of that group—see Crane, *Southern Frontier*, p. 279, Williams, *Early Travels*, pp. 127-128.

moralized host. The governor reached Charleston on the 8th of January. He tried to enter quietly, on this as on other occasions avoiding display, but was received with salutes, parades and many congratulatory addresses.²²

The Commons House provided with reasonable promptness for paying the cost of the expedition which a committee in 1761 put at nearly twenty-five thousand pounds. Most of this amount, along with other expenses of the year, was paid with orders which were to be retired within five years. The pay of the militia came to about eight thousand pounds, and the greater part of it and of the nearly six hundred small sums for food and services went to the settlers in the middle and back country. This money, along with similar receipts during the Indian troubles, afforded a small recompense for their losses.²³

The expedition which ended so ingloriously is usually called Lyttelton's, although the credit for it belongs almost as much to the council and Commons. Under the best circumstances it could have achieved no more than a demonstration before the Lower Towns, or the destruction of some of them, without touching the centers of the Cherokee power. The collapse of the expedition emboldened the war party in the nation, and the bad faith in keeping the hostages increased its fury.

For three weeks after the treaty the Cherokees were "remarkably assiduous" in their friendliness to the whites, doubtless waiting to supply themselves from the traders and to disarm suspicion. In the ensuing plot and first outbreak the Overhills appeared to have no part, but the Lower Towns and Middle Settlements were deeply involved. On the 19th of January James Beamer's half-breed son Thomas, a man of intelligence and property and himself a licensed trader, at the request of the Young Warrior of Eastatoe accompanied a party of seventy or eighty to Fort Prince George. The Warrior pretended to be delivering up two men for punishment, but Beamer discovered that though they made a show of leaving their arms two miles from the fort, they still had hatchets under their blankets, and Coytmore was able to frustrate the plot. On the same day and by a detachment of the same party the killing of the traders began. John Elliott, now in the Lower Towns, was perhaps their first victim. The slaughter was general, but a number escaped, thanks to their skill and hardihood, the timely warning of their Indian women, or some lucky chance such as that to which James Beamer owed his life. His house near Eastatoe was cut off from the towns for two days by high water. When

²² *SCG*, Jan. 12, 19, Apr. 19, Aug. 23, 1760; *JC*, Jan. 11, 1760; below p. 224; *Indian Books*, VI, 219-220, Adair, *American Indians*, pp. 247-251. Note also *SCG*, Mar. 22, 1760 that not five hundred remained to take the smallpox.

²³ *Stats.*, IV, 113-128, *JCHA*, June 20, 1760, May 20, 1761. Later accounts added over two thousand pounds to the amount (*JCHA*, June 23, 1761). The preceding August the commissary stated that he had bought all the flour in the back settlements and had contracted with the settlers for 70,000 pounds of their present crop (*JC*, Aug. 14, 1759).

Thomas Beamer heard of the murders he hurried his father away to the nearest settlement, and came back for his Cherokee mother and what goods they could take away. He then went to Charleston and there on the 31st gave the first news of the outbreak.²⁴

Failing in their attempt on Fort Prince George the Lower Towns warriors turned out in a body, with a great many from the Middle Settlements and the Valley, and fell upon the frontier. The day they started a Cherokee wench set out from Fort Prince George in advance of five or six hundred Indians. She arrived at Ninety Six on the 30th, two traders reaching the post the same day, and the alarm thus given undoubtedly prevented a massacre. Twenty men came in from the community that day, and twenty more were expected during the night. Other traders were reported to have gone towards Savannah Town to warn settlers in that direction. Before the attack on Ninety Six Aaron Price, a Cherokee trader, with a letter from Francis dated the 31st, set out for Charleston which by an air line was a hundred and sixty miles away. On the 2nd of February Lyttelton laid the letter before the council; the *South Carolina Gazette* remarked that Price was on the road two days and a few hours.²⁵

The first blow fell upon the new settlers of Long Cane. About a hundred and fifty of them, including the Calhouns, on February 1st made the fatal mistake of trying, with their loaded wagons, to flee before the savages. With a few hours work on a stockade the forty men could have successfully defended their families in any house. But the day they started, near the crossing of Long Cane Creek, on the way to Augusta, they were attacked by a hundred Cherokees. In the wild confusion few of the men could even lay hand on guns; the Indians killed twenty-three, including the mother of the Calhouns, and captured nearly as many; after half an hour's futile fight the men fled to Augusta. Days afterward nine or more children of the party were found; some of them had been scalped and left for dead, others had scurried to cover during the attack. Near Stevens Creek there was a similar surprise of a score of fugitives, with like disastrous results. The attack on Ninety Six materialized on the 3rd, but after two hours of firing the Cherokees retired with a loss of two men. Two others had been taken by a scouting party of the garrison the day before. On the day of the fight at Ninety Six other settlers were gathered at William Turner's under the command of Andrew Brown, captain of the militia. While they were building a fort, doubtless on Turner's land at the mouth of Bush River, they suffered a four-hour attack by the Indians, with no loss to themselves, and killed several of the enemy.²⁶

²⁴ PR, XXVIII, 311-312 (Lyttelton to Board, Feb. 22, 1760); JC, Feb. 4, 14, 1760; SCG, Feb. 9, 1760; Indian Books, VI, 222. On Beamer see Indian Books, II, pt. 2, 150-151, Wills, 1760-1767, p. 42.

²⁵ JC, Feb. 2, 1760, Indian Books, VI, 222, SCG, Feb. 9, 1760.

²⁶ SCG, Feb. 9, 16, 23, 1760, above p. 133.

John Pearson wrote on February 8th that the Indians were reported to have killed twenty-seven on Raeburns Creek, but this was not confirmed. On Bush River Pearson said all the settlers had fled save a group with Jacob Brooks; these were doubtless the builders of Brooks' or Rhall's fort, which appears to have been on the middle course of that stream. On receipt of later letters the lieutenant-governor and council agreed that Brooks be offered a commission as commander of the fort with the provision that if he refused, the garrison should elect a commander. In two forts on the Enoree there were thirty-six men and nearly three hundred and fifty women and children.²⁷

The attack on the Savannah River settlements above Augusta and Fort Moore came somewhat later, but on the 15th of February Ulric Tobler, the highly esteemed son of the elder John Tobler, was killed near Fort Moore by a volley which was meant for some other person marked out for special vengeance. Within a few miles of Fort Moore John Tobler and George Galphin built forts, and on the Georgia side, above Augusta, several were in process of construction, one of them designed for six hundred persons. As far down as Buckhead Swamp on the Salkehatchie and at Orangeburg and the Congarees there were other stockades.²⁸

The parties of Cherokees in this general onslaught varied from a dozen to a hundred, and were estimated at about eight hundred altogether. There were some murders in the back country of North Carolina,²⁹ but the Georgia settlements escaped serious loss. Only the stockade forts, which within a week of the Long Cane affair dotted the frontier, prevented wholesale slaughter in South Carolina. Constructed in desperate haste these defenses were flimsy enough at first, but as time wore on and more and more of the settlers ventured to return they were strengthened and improved and increased in number until probably half the population of the upper valleys of the piedmont was housed in them. From these rude citadels the men sallied out to do a little work in the fields or to look after the cattle that were left, and in more quiet periods families ventured to their homes. The remainder of the population almost as far down as the fall line abandoned the exposed regions and fled to the Congarees or farther down the country.

The first attack of the Cherokees was over in a few days, and the triumphant warriors hastened to their towns to exhibit their scalps and their wretched captives, while the unlucky nursed their wounds and disappointments. In this interval Abraham, a negro slave belonging to a trader in Fort Loudoun, on promise of his freedom slipped through the

²⁷ JC, Feb. 11, Mar. 19, 21, Apr. 1, 30, 1760. For approximate location of Brooks' Fort, see P, VI, 333 and index to Plats from which adjoining plats may be located. For Pearson's letter see Indian Books, VI, 218.

²⁸ SCG, Feb. 16, 23, Aug. 23, 1760, below, n. 59. Later smallpox afflicted the people in Tobler's fort, SCG, Mar. 22, 1760.

²⁹ SCG, Feb. 16, Apr. 12, 1760, Ashe, *History of N. C.*, I, 300-301.

Indian lines to Charleston. He reported that the hundred and eighty men were in good health and well supplied with all but flour for four or five months. The Cherokees had cut off all communication with the fort but had not attacked it.³⁰

The warriors were soon on the war path again, this invasion like the first beginning with an attempt upon Fort Prince George. On the 14th of February the Great Warrior of Chotee came to the fort and asked for the hostages of the Overhill towns, with the implied threat that if they were not released those towns would enter the war. Two days later he and his warriors ambushed the commander, Lieutenant Coytmore, and mortally wounded him, but in the ensuing five-day attack the Indians fired from such a distance that no further harm was done. When the soldiers demanded the death of the hostages, Ensign Alexander Miln, Coytmore's successor, tried to pacify the men by ordering the hostages put in irons. While this was being done a soldier was mortally wounded with weapons the Indians had concealed, and the garrison, beyond control, fell upon the prisoners and slew them to a man. On a rainy day, the Indians not appearing, Miln got in a small supply of firewood, of which he had greater need than of provisions. Far worse than the close siege, however, was the smallpox, which by the 24th had caused fourteen deaths.³¹

It was fortunate for the Ninety Six garrison that this time, too, there was warning of the impending attack, for on the 22nd of February two-thirds of the men were down with the smallpox. On the 2nd of March two messengers from Prince George arrived and reported that on the way down they came by Indian camps which appeared to have three hundred warriors. The next morning, at sunrise, over two hundred attacked the fort and fired furiously all day and night. Two of the garrison were wounded, but in turn, so Francis wrote, several of the enemy were seen to drop, "And we have now the Pleasure Sir, to Fatten our Dogs with their Carcases, and to Display their Scalps, neatly ornamented on the top of our Bastions."³²

Leaving Ninety Six the Indians spread over the Saluda valley destroying houses and crops, and killed or captured sixteen persons. A settler named Michael, his wife and five children were made prisoners; a son was killed in the encounter, and at Nuquassee in the Middle Settlements the man was burned. The rest of the family were made slaves, but a humane chief bought them, and it was reported that they were well treated thereafter. At Rhall's fort a man was slain and scalped, but the garrison in turn sallied out and drove off the Indians, killing and scalping two of them. A party of the militia and a troop of rangers reached the Saluda-Ninety Six region in the later stages of this attack, and probably prevented other

³⁰ *SCG*, Feb. 16, 1760.

³¹ Indian Books, VI, 219-224, 226, *JC*, Feb. 4, 1760.

³² Indian Books, VI, 227-228; *SCG*, Mar. 15, 1760.

and more serious losses, but throughout April and May there were occasional surprises of persons away from forts, the most daring feat of the Indians being the capture of the negroes of Henry Young, near Orangeburg.³³

When Price arrived in Charleston the 2nd of February with the news of the impending Cherokee attack, Governor Lyttelton called a meeting of the council. On their advice he sent pressing requests for aid to the commander-in-chief at New York and to the North Carolina and Virginia governments. The application to Virginia amounted to nothing. The regiment raised by that province for royal service advanced slowly upon the Overhill towns by the newer and safer route down the Great Valley, and finally, two hundred miles from Fort Loudoun, came to a stop. The North Carolina back country suffered from Cherokee raids, but that colony did no more than maintain a fort and provide for an additional three hundred men to defend its own frontier.³⁴

It was obvious that if the Cherokees succeeded in bringing the Creeks into the war Georgia would be in danger of complete destruction and the South Carolina frontier subject to a flank attack almost as ruinous. Every effort was made by the new Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the South, the Carolina councillor Edmund Atkin, and the active and capable Georgia Governor Henry Ellis to bring the Creeks to the point of attacking the Cherokees, or, failing in that, to keep them neutral. On the 14th of May, however, trouble-makers among the upper Creeks fell upon the traders and slew eleven of them, and to all appearance a Creek war had begun, for this was the way the Cherokee war had started. The terror-stricken settlers fled to Augusta and to strengthen that fort the detachment of independent troops at Fort Moore was sent across the river. The dilapidated Carolina stronghold was promptly occupied by George Bussey and a hundred and seventy other settlers. The Creek danger was made worse by the trade from northern colonies to Pensacola and Mobile which supplied the French, enabling them in turn to supply and corrupt the Indians. After feverish activity, with many messages and presents, the storm blew over, the great majority of the Creeks complacently holding to their policy of neutrality for the tribe and freedom for the wilder spirits to slay or plunder with impunity.³⁵

The Commons House, already due to meet the week following the news of the attacks by the Cherokees, proceeded to consider the papers set before it by the governor. Provision was made for seven companies of rangers of seventy-five men each to patrol the frontier until July 1st, the

³³ *SCG*, Mar. 15, Apr. 19, May 3, 10, 24, 1760; *Indian Books*, VI, 227-228.

³⁴ *JC*, Feb. 2, 1760; *SCG*, Feb. 23, July 26, 1760; Ashe, *History of N. C.*, I, 300-301; *PR*, XXVIII, 413 (Bull to Board, Oct. 21, 1760).

³⁵ *SCG*, Feb. 16, Mar. 1, 22, Apr. 7, 12, 19, May 10, 31, June 21, 1760; *PR*, XXVIII, 348, 352, 359-361, 366-368 (Bull to Board, May 29, June 17, 30, 1760); *JC*, June 5, 20, 1760. On Atkin see *JC*, Nov. 1, 1760.

men getting approximately forty-three shillings a month and furnishing arms, supplies and horses. The provincial companies recruited under the act of 1757 were likewise continued until July, and a reward of nearly seventy-two shillings was offered for each scalp of a Cherokee man. On the governor's request ten days later the ranger pay was increased by a third. Meanwhile on February 12th the Commons resolved that it would raise a regiment to relieve Fort Prince George and chastise the Cherokees, but declared that Fort Loudoun could not be relieved from this province. This hard decision, which might have been anticipated in 1756, was but an admission of a fact. The proposed regiment was to consist of a thousand men with the same pay and provision for supplies as first set forth for the rangers, the captains to begin their pay when their companies were half full. A significant action came the next day when a motion to ask the governor to command the regiment in person was lost.³⁶

The committee report on which these resolutions were partly based recommended a regiment of five hundred, and the vote in the House to double the number was eleven to ten. Christopher Gadsden, who was chairman of the committee, two years later declared that over half the members were kept away by smallpox then raging in town, and that the measure was not well considered. Five hundred with proper pay, he contended, could have been raised promptly. The fact that it had been impossible to raise more than three of the five companies authorized in 1757 made the resolution for another regiment little more than a gesture, and six months later it consisted of a hundred and twenty-five men. It was, apparently, the intention of the Commons to give the men of the exposed regions an opportunity to protect themselves while being paid for it by the province at large.³⁷

As a matter of fact the whole able-bodied male population of the back country would scarcely have sufficed for the second regiment, while from their number and from the middle country had been drawn most of the men already in service. Furthermore the timid had taken refuge in safer quarters, and the bolder souls who remained may well have had little enthusiasm for this service when they balanced the possibilities of a mountain campaign against defense of their own stockade forts.

On the council's advice the militia colonels whose regiments included

³⁶ JCHA, Feb. 7-9, 12, 13, 19, 1760.

³⁷ *Some Observations on the Two Campaigns against the Cherokee Indians in 1760 and 1761 in a Second Letter from Philopatrios* (Charles Town, 1762), pp. 17-18 (a copy of this pamphlet, written by Gadsden—see SCG, Feb. 26, 1763—is bound in with the manuscripts of the "Gadsden Miscellany" of the Smythe Collection, Presbyterian College of South Carolina); above, pp. 215-216, *Stats.*, IV, 128, JCHA, June 30, July 2, 1760. The uneasiness because of reports of negro insurrection plots doubtless made it more difficult to raise troops in the plantation area, although this was not given as a cause (see JC, June 20, 1759, SCG, Aug. 18, 1759). "Good Reasons have been suggested to us, for not inserting in this Paper any Account of Insurrections, especially at this Time;" (May 31, 1760).

the back settlements were ordered to call out one or more companies for local service and these did excellent work in patrolling exposed sections like the forks of the Edisto and the Ninety Six region. The colonels were likewise authorized to impress provisions, not only for the men of the companies but also for women and children in the forts. Lyttelton sent reinforcements from independent troops to Fort Moore and to Augusta and "very large Quantities" of ammunition to Orangeburg, the Congarees and Pinetree Hill.³⁸

To save time Lyttelton instructed the militia colonels to appoint captains of the ranger companies which with their higher pay and mounted service made the chief appeal to the prospective soldiers. In two weeks Colonel Richard Richardson of St. Marks on the upper Santee wrote from the Watercees that he had appointed Thomas Boshier captain of one company and hoped to persuade Pearson to take the other. The sixty Catawba warriors, he reported, were ready for service. In March Chevillet reported one troop of rangers under Captain John Grennan nearly filled and another under Charles Russell about half full. The 7th of April the *Gazette* stated that most of the seven troops were complete. Almost all the commanders and evidently most of the men were from the middle and back country.³⁹

The letters from the frontier forts brought the government to the realization of their needs and their place in the provincial defense system. Earlier in the year Governor Lyttelton had assured the men in the Ninety Six garrison of pay on the basis of provincial troops. In April there came a petition from the two Enoree forts, showing their desperate plight. Beset as they were by the Cherokees and weakened by losses in scouting parties, they declared themselves unable to hold the forts longer without aid. They were accordingly promised a reinforcement of fifteen men each, and were warmly commended for their long and brave defense. In May Turner's fort was given more ammunition and twelve bushels of salt, and directions were issued for a militia officer to impress provisions for it. Godfrey Dryer's fort near the Congarees, with a hundred and twenty-one women and children in it, was ordered similarly provisioned. Finally in June the Commons appropriated about seven hundred pounds for relief of the people in the frontier forts.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, with the defense of the frontier in a measure provided for, the governor and council addressed themselves to the task of relieving Fort Prince George. Colonel Richardson, now commander of the new pro-

³⁸ Above, p. 223, JC, Feb. 11, 12, 14, 1760; SCG, Feb. 9, 23, Mar. 1, Apr. 19, May 10, 1760; PR, XXVIII, 313 (Lyttelton to Board, Feb. 22, 1760).

³⁹ SCG, Dec. 6, 1760, Indian Books, VI, 224-227. Boshier seems to have been from the Georgetown section—see *Register . . . Prince Frederick*, index, P, I, 159, II, 46; Pearson accepted the command (JC, Apr. 1, 1760).

⁴⁰ JCHA, June 24, 30, July 2, 1760, May 29, 1761; JC, Apr. 30, May 20, 23, 24, June 9, 18, July 3, 1760.

vincial regiment, was ordered to Ninety Six and instructed to make the attempt if, with the rangers included, he could raise five hundred men. Patrick Calhoun appeared to offer the services of the Long Canes settlers and became an officer in the regiment. The scalp money was increased to about seven pounds but neither this nor other inducements sufficed, and the requisite force could not be raised.⁴¹

On the 19th of March William Bull presided over the council meeting, explaining that the governor was about to depart for England. A month before Lyttelton had produced a letter from the Board of Trade announcing his promotion to the governorship of Jamaica, and the appointment of Thomas Pownall as governor and Bull as lieutenant-governor of South Carolina. Pownall never came to the colony; his successor, Thomas Boone, did not reach Charleston until December 1761. While Lyttelton's administration was no great success, his vigor, his plain, direct dealing, his usual courtesy and his apparent disinterestedness retained for him the confidence of the province. Bull's appointment was well received. His father's record and the standing of his family gave him prestige, and his own service as member and speaker of the Commons and in the council brought him, on his first meeting with the assembly, a flattering address.⁴²

On the 1st of April a war vessel and six transports arrived in Charleston harbor with twelve hundred troops on board sent by General Amherst. The men—half of them Highlanders, the others of the First or Royal Scotch regiment—were commanded by Colonel Archibald Montgomery. The assembly enacted an ordinance for impressment of wagons, horses and drivers; the force, marching by way of the Congarees, reached Ninety Six on the 25th of May. Here preparations were made and the expedition reorganized for the march into the enemy's country. Richardson retired from the command of the provincials and Montgomery took three hundred and fifty rangers and foot soldiers, leaving the others to guard the frontier.⁴³

With twelve hundred and fifty pounds appropriated by the Commons Bull equipped about forty Catawbas, whose families were to be maintained at Pinetree Hill, and as many of the former New Windsor Chickasaws now resident on the Georgia side of the Savannah below Augusta. The Commons authorized payment likewise of five pounds reward for each scalp taken by any person not in pay of the crown or province. James Adair volunteered to lead the Savannah River Chickasaws without pay, but the Commons provided for him about seven pounds a month; he and his party joined with some of the western Chickasaws under Captain John

⁴¹ JC, Feb. 29, Mar. 3, 6, Apr. 7, July 17, 1760; JCHA, July 9, 1760.

⁴² See JCHA, Mar. 11, 14, Apr. 16, 1760, JC, Feb. 14, Mar. 19, 1760; PR, XXIX, 54-55, 210 (Order in Council, Mar. 20, 1761, Boone to Board, Dec. 24, 1761); Lyttelton embarked April 4th (*SCG*, Apr. 7, 1760).

⁴³ *SCG*, Apr. 7, May 31, 1760, JCHA, Apr. 16, 17, 19, 1760; PR, XXVIII, 328-333 (Bull to Board, May 6, 1760).

Brown, who though the half-breed son of a Cherokee mother, was an active and responsible trader to the distant tribe and their leader in defense against the Choctaws. The Indians did not accompany Montgomery beyond the Lower Towns but served irregularly about Fort Prince George during the summer. In September Adair's party claimed to have taken four Cherokee scalps and the Catawbias in October produced a prisoner and six scalps.⁴⁴

On the 28th of May Montgomery left Ninety Six with his force of regulars and provincials; his lieutenant-colonel was James Grant who acted as correspondent for the expedition. Bull, with little hope of success for the expedition, said that in two weeks he expected news of the burning of the empty towns and the supplies of the "volatile" enemy. At this time the negro Abraham, now freed for his services, again brought news of the wretched Fort Loudoun garrison with its ration of two ounces of "rotten meat" and a pint of corn a day, and only enough of this for six weeks. He also reported the sufferings of the prisoners in the towns. Miln had recently decoyed Tistoe of Keowee and nine other Cherokees to the fort, seized them and exchanged two for several white prisoners.⁴⁵

On the fifth day after his departure from Ninety Six Montgomery reached Twelve Mile Creek and there left the baggage in charge of a small party, while he attempted to surprise Eastatoe, the largest of the Lower Towns, several miles above Keowee. Forced to turn aside to destroy a small outlying village where they killed most of the men, the troops disclosed themselves to the enemy and Eastatoe was found deserted with the beds still warm. In Sugar Town nearby they found the dead body of a man tortured the preceding morning, and burned that town and the several smaller towns making up the lower division of the Cherokees, together with their plentiful stores of food. On June 2nd, after an uninterrupted march of sixty miles from Twelve Mile Creek, the force reached Fort Prince George. Here Montgomery waited for the Indians to sue for peace, while Grant wrote condescending dispatches to Charleston in which he even praised the rangers. It was at this time that the Catawbias started home with thirty horse loads of plunder.⁴⁶

On the 5th Montgomery released Tistoe, who now for the second time

⁴⁴ PR, XXVIII, 330-331 (Bull to Board, May 6, 1760); JCHA, Apr. 19, 28, 1760, Indian Books, V, 339-340; SCG, July 19, Aug. 2, 1760; JC, Sept. 3, 5, Oct. 6, 1760.

⁴⁵ PR, XXVIII, 353-354 (Bull to Board, May 29, 1760); JCHA, June 12, 1760, SCG, May 24, June 7, 10, 1760. This was Abraham's third trip through the Cherokee country; he had meanwhile had smallpox in Charleston. For Grant, see below, p. 237.

⁴⁶ SCG, June 10, 14, July 5, 1760; JC, June 10, 1760. On his return Montgomery brought 1 man and 32 women and children prisoners (SCG, Aug. 13, 1760). By his failure to destroy the growing crops he neglected his best opportunity. Later in the year, when the Middle and Overhill settlements developed a food shortage the fields of the Lower Towns became an invaluable supply (SCG, July 5, Aug. 2, Sept. 13, 1760; JC, June 30, 1760).

in six months went out from confinement in Fort Prince George a dubious envoy of peace. He carried from the commander a threat that if the Indians did not come to terms within ten days he would destroy the other towns, but this availed nothing, for the Middle Settlements were not yet touched, and the hostile Overhills had Fort Loudoun at their mercy.⁴⁷ On the 24th therefore Montgomery started on his mission of destruction of the Middle Towns, frankly admitting that he could not attempt the relief of Fort Loudoun. Forty of the rangers, even more disillusioned than he, deserted the night before the march. A provision train with supplies for thirty days—cattle, and flour loaded on packhorses—accompanied the expedition. Crossing the Keowee at the ford below the fort the little army advanced along the trading path over high rolling hills, following Oconee Creek to its head. They climbed Oconee Mountain, descended to the Chattooga River and crossing it ascended the narrow and rugged valley of War Woman Creek. At no point of the fifty-mile stretch of broken country between Keowee and the nearest of the Middle Towns did the Cherokees offer resistance, apparently preferring to stand nearer their own homes and perhaps wishing to cut the invading force off from retreat.⁴⁸

On the 27th, anticipating trouble, Montgomery marched at four in the morning hoping to surprise the Indians. Turning due north he passed Rabun Gap and entered the narrow but pleasant valley of the Little Tennessee. Following the west bank of the stream, at ten o'clock he reached the site of a former Cherokee town, Tassantee, thirteen miles from his camp of the preceding night and five miles from Echoe. Here he approached a low and thickly covered stretch, the river a short distance in front, to his left a steep mountain, and on the right a hill. As John Morrison of Amelia, captain of one of the provincial companies and leading the advance guard, plunged into the thicket to reconnoitre he was fired on from all sides and fell dead. The grenadiers and light infantry at once charged into the thicket, while the Royal Scotch were moved to the rising ground on the right and the Highlanders toward the mountain on the left. The Cherokees retiring to the steep slope of the mountain, the troops faced to the left, apparently with their backs to the river, and suffered a galling fire from the rifles of the Indians which carried further than their own muskets. Then, after four or five hours of fighting, the force faced to the right, filed over the ford to the east bank of the Tennessee, and made their way to Echoe five miles away. Some of the Cherokees had gone ahead and warned the town, which was empty when Montgomery arrived, but others attacked the provision train which was guarded by about a hundred men.

⁴⁷ *SCG*, June 7, July 5, 1760; PR, XXVIII, 364–366 (Bull to Board, June 30, 1760); JC, June 30, 1760.

⁴⁸ *SCG*, July 5, 12, 1760; *Some Observations* etc. (see above, n. 37), pp. 81–82; PR, XXVIII, 365 (Bull to Board, June 30, 1760). For the route see Haig, *Map of Back Country of S. C.*, and Bartram, *Travels through N. and S. C.*, pp. 331–348.

Beset on all sides, these men barricaded their wounded with the bags of flour, and eventually beat off the enemy. They met the reinforcement sent back from Echoe and reached the town after midnight. 16 regulars were killed and 66 wounded, while of the provincials there were 3 slain and 10 wounded. The dead were left on the field, and covered, if at all, too slightly to give the bodies any protection.⁴⁹

The regular troops apparently remained in close formation and the Indians, themselves suffering little, declared later that they shot down the soldiers like turkeys. The provincials and rangers in part protected themselves by trees, and Grant afterwards charged the latter with cowardice. His accusation was refuted by the losses of these companies which were in equal proportion to those of the regulars, and reflected little credit on the author whose letters showed that the main force, including himself, left the rear guard of rangers, wagoners and regulars to shift for itself, and that this mixed company fought its way through the enemy and saved the supplies.⁵⁰

At Echoe Montgomery camped for the night and the following day, the Indians making two attacks which apparently inflicted no loss. Then at midnight, leaving lights in the houses to deceive the Indians, and with the wounded in litters, the troops began a return march that brought them the following night to War Woman Creek, twenty-eight miles away. Grant's truculent statement later that the Indians dared not come near them was, under the circumstances, somewhat unnecessary. On the 30th there were skirmishes with the Indians with slight loss, and at the end of that day the army camped within twelve miles of Keowee.⁵¹ Montgomery's position after the fight at Echoe was unenviable, and his argument that it was impossible to continue the campaign without sacrificing his wounded was not without force, but the need of preserving some shred of respect for the whites demanded that he at least attempt the destruction of the towns which lay within easy reach a few miles down the Little Tennessee valley. The flight by night capped the failure of the expedition and, coming on the heels of Lyttelton's expedition, gave the Cherokees such confidence in themselves and their hills that not even another year of

⁴⁹ *SCG*, July 5, 12, 19, 1760; *Some Observations* etc., pp. 82-86. The distances and description of the ground indicate that the battle occurred on a stretch of the path nearly a mile long which cut across from one end to another of a half-circle described by the river. The lower end of that half-circle was at or near the ford marked approximately by the present Smith's bridge, half a mile above the mouth of Tennessee Creek. The "rising ground" appears to have been the hill partly enclosed by the river, the "mountain" probably the slope to the northwest of the hill rather than the steeper ascent to the southwest (Haig, Map of Cherokee Country, and United States Geological Survey, *North Carolina* "Covee Quadrangle"—Washington, 1907; notes made by J. M. Lesesne and the writer, Oct. 10, 1936).

⁵⁰ *SCG*, Oct. 25, 1760; *Some Observations* etc., pp. 26-27.

⁵¹ *SCG*, July 12, 1760, JC, July 11, 1760, *Some Observations* etc., p. 85.

war and another invasion brought them to terms. The province was much the worse for Montgomery's coming.

The expedition reached Fort Prince George on July 1st and, leaving six months supply of flour and forty bullocks, marched the next day for Ninety Six. The garrison was so near to mutiny at the prospect before it that a show of force was necessary to restore order and a reinforcement of twenty-six men from the regulars was left in the fort. At the Congarees Montgomery left three hundred men, but, despite the urgent pleas of Bull and the assembly, he embarked in August with the remainder of his troops, carrying out Amherst's orders for a return to the north as soon as the Cherokees were chastised. The commander-in-chief properly reminded the provincial authorities of their obligation to fill the South Carolina regiments before asking a permanent force of regulars.⁵²

The failure of Montgomery's expedition assured the fall of the hapless Fort Loudoun. Though under close siege since the beginning of the war, it had not often been attacked, and by sale of petty trifles to the Indians Captain Demere had obtained small quantities of supplies. But as the war spirit in the Overhills mounted and the news of the death of the hostages at Fort Prince George came to them the lines were drawn closer. The distress of the garrison, with its allowance of a pint of corn a day for each soldier, caused the resourceful lieutenant-governor to form a scheme for temporary relief. He succeeded in getting a parcel of ribbons and paint to the fort, and with this small but precious cargo Demere bought two weeks provisions from the Cherokee wenches, "above 30 of whom constantly resorted to the fort". The services of these women, whether for love of the soldier or for his gewgaws, no doubt had much to do with the increasing hostility of the warriors. Despite the shortage of supplies Demere ransomed a woman and three children from the Indians, the former shortly afterwards dying of the abuse she had suffered. At the last the fort subsisted on the flesh of horses or of lean hogs and the beans which the women, with the Little Carpenter's aid, brought in on rainy nights. But finally that too ceased.⁵³

As July wore on the occasional despatches told of the despair of the garrison "abandoned and forsaken by God and man." On the 6th of August a council of war decided that the fort could not be held longer, and Captain Stuart and Lieutenant James Adamson went to the Great Warrior for terms. In return for the surrender of the fort and all guns, spare arms and ammunition, the Indians granted permission for the garrison with arms and ammunition to go to Virginia or Prince George while

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 88, *SCG*, July 19, 1760, *JCHA*, July 11, 30, 31, 1760; *PR*, XXVIII, 372-380, 388-391 (Bull to Board, July 20, Aug. 15, 1760, with enclosed letter). Apparently Montgomery left, in all, 400 men—see below, p. 237.

⁵³ *PR*, XXVIII, 331-333, 362 (Bull to Board, May 6, June 17, 1760), *SCG*, June 7, 21, Aug. 23, 1760.

the sick were to be cared for in the Indian towns. The Cherokees thus came in possession of 14 cannon, 80 small arms, 1,000 pounds of powder and 2,000 pounds of ball.⁵⁴

From the time that these despatches were received till the 31st of August nothing was known at Fort Prince George of the fate of the garrison, and the details of the massacre reached Charleston a month later by way of Virginia. The soldiers marched out of the fort on the 9th and camped that night sixteen miles away. As they resumed their journey the next morning the Indians attacked the advance guard. Demere, who was bitterly hated by the Indians, whether for his position or his behavior does not appear, was wounded, scalped at once and then tortured horribly to death on the spot. It was reported at the time that only 25 others were killed, but Bull later declared that there were slain 4 officers, 23 privates, and 3 women. 7 others were reported drowned in attempting to escape and two to have burst themselves eating. The remainder, about 120, brought the number of prisoners from the frontier of the two Carolinas to near 300. Stuart was spirited away by the Little Carpenter; months later when he reached Charleston by way of Virginia, he was commended highly by the lieutenant-governor and the Commons and voted a gratuity of about two hundred pounds.⁵⁵

The destruction of the hated and feared Fort Loudoun establishment satisfied many Cherokees, and started talk of peace, but the majority were inspired to a renewed blockade of Fort Prince George, determined, so Bull reported, to have the officers who commanded when the hostages were put to death, and to get the presents and the six thousand pounds of powder left there by Lyttelton. The lieutenant-governor acted promptly to cover the frontier with what forces he had. One troop of rangers he placed a few miles above the detachment left by Montgomery at the Congarees. The other six he stationed in pairs between the Catawba and the Broad, the Broad and Ninety Six, and between Ninety Six and the Savannah and Fort Moore. At Ninety Six he placed fifty men and four swivel guns, primarily to keep lines open to Fort Prince George. The post continued the base of operations until the campaign of 1761 but the provincial regiment remained at the Congarees.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ PR, XXVIII, 361-362, 389, 394-396, 413-414 (Bull to Board, June 17, Aug. 15, 31, Oct. 21, 1760), *SCG*, June 14, Aug. 2, 23, 1760. Adamson was from the Waterees (above p. 105).

⁵⁵ *SCG*, Sept. 6, 27, Oct. 4, 11, 18, 1760; PR, XXVIII, 401-403, 409-411 (Bull to Board, Sept. 9, Oct. 21, 1760); JC, Oct. 22, 1760; JCHA, Jan. 22, 23, 1761.

⁵⁶ *SCG*, Sept. 27, 1760; PR, XXVIII, 396-397, 402 (Bull to Board, Aug. 31, Sept. 9, 1760); JCHA, Aug. 14, 1760, Mar. 28, 1761. During August one of the garrison was killed and two captured (*SCG*, Sept. 13, 1760). In February 1761 Miln and the other officers at Fort Prince George who had been there when the hostages were killed were recalled, Miln being replaced in command by Lieutenant Lachlan McIntosh, appointed by Bull because he was "greatly respected by the Indians" and thus could facilitate peace talks (letters of Aug. 15, 1760, Jan. 29, 1761, PR, XXVIII, 390-391, XXIX, 23-24, *SCG*, Mar. 7, 1761).

It was not until October that the relief of Fort Prince George was undertaken. Meanwhile that garrison, reduced to sour flour and the flesh of an occasional horse, had become desperate and fearful that the fate of the Overhills fort would also be theirs. "For God's sake," wrote a correspondent, "tell me, what are they about? have they no compassion for us, for themselves, or for their posterity? shall scarce 2000 savages now give law to *Carolina*, when 12 or 15,000, 45 years ago, could not? Oh! my country! ———— ———— ————" But on October 11th Major William Thomson set out from Ninety Six with a detachment of 268 picked rangers driving pack horses loaded with 2,500 pounds of flour, each ranger carrying on his own horse 40 pounds of salted jerked beef. Arriving on the 15th, Thomson likewise supplied the garrison with firewood. In November and again in February the lieutenant-governor sent up more supplies in wagons, escorted by the rangers.⁵⁷

In this collapse of the ambitious and expensive imperial structure it was not the ranger troops alone who held the South Carolina frontier. The defeat of Montgomery's force threw the back country settlers into "such dreadful apprehensions" that many, so the *Gazette* declared, fled to the now safer northern colonies, while some took refuge in the fall line settlements or in the low country. But others held their ground. Renewed activity in building stockades made more demands upon the provincial administration for swivel guns and blunderbusses, and there was even resettlement of the Long Canes where a fort was built under guard of a party of the "far Chickasaws". Another was built for the Catawbias at the expense of the province, enabling them to return to their homes from their refuge at Pinetree Hill.⁵⁸

There were more than a score of these forts dotting the country from the Salkehatchie forks to the Indian boundary, but probably the dozen in the exposed region between Fort Moore and the mouth of the Tyger River contained the fifteen hundred persons referred to by Lieutenant-Governor Bull in January 1761.⁵⁹ The seven hundred pounds given by the Commons

⁵⁷ PR, XXVIII, 411-412, XXIX, 23-24 (Bull to Board, Oct. 21, 1760, Jan. 29, 1761); *SCG*, Sept. 27, Oct. 18, 25, 1760, Feb. 21, 1761; JC, Nov. 15, 1760. On the last expedition 133 of Thomson's horses were killed or taken by the Indians when they strayed from the fort (*SCG*, Mar. 7, 1761).

⁵⁸ *SCG*, July 26, Aug. 13, Nov. 15, 1760; JCHA, Oct. 14, 17, 1760; JC, Aug. 7, Oct. 8, 15, 1760, Sept. 12, 1761; Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, I, 307-308.

⁵⁹ JCHA, Jan. 21, 1761; PR, XXIX, 89 (Bull to Pitt, Apr. 28, 1761). The following is a list of forts named in the records:

1. Ashepoo, Fort at head of (JC, Apr. 7, 1760).
2. Aubrey's (Samuel), Enoree River, apparently abandoned for Musgrove's, two miles away (JC, Apr. 30, June 18, 1760).
3. Barker's, Salkehatchie River (*SCG*, Oct. 10, 1761—adv. of Joseph Glover).
4. Bedon's, Buckhead Creek, Salkehatchie River; Bedon's and Barker's may have been the same (JC, Mar. 27, 1760).
5. Brooks' (Jacob), or Rhall's, Bush River (Indian Books, VI, 218, above, p. 223).
6. Bull, Fort, Orangeburg (JC, Apr. 30, 1760).

in June to these civilian soldiers and their families fell so far short of the needs of the frontier that in January 1761 twice as much again was appropriated for the purpose.⁶⁰ This was scanty aid for the stout-hearted frontiersmen who held the back country for two bitter years and saved the province from the economic and moral damage that would have followed complete abandonment of the piedmont. The money served the purpose, however, for it eked out the partial crops of grain they planted and har-

7. Catawba Fort; Twelve Mile Creek, Catawba River (JCHA, Oct. 14, 1760; JC, Oct. 8, 1760, Sept. 12, 1761; *State Records of N. C.*, XI, 80, map).
8. Dryer's (Godfrey Dreher's), Congarees (JC, May 24, 1760).
9. Fletchall's (probably Thomas) or "Fletcher's", Sandy River (SCG, Sept. 27, 1760).
10. Gallman's (Henry), Congarees (JC, Mar. 27, 1760, JCHA, May 19, 1760).
11. Galphin's (George), Silver Bluff (SCG, July 12, 1760, above, p. 70).
12. Gordon's, Enoree (P, VII, 253; *Stats.*, IX, 211).
13. Helm's, Wateree Creek, Wateree River (JCHA, May 25, 1764; P, VII, 501).
14. Lee's, head of East Fork Little River of Broad (JCHA, May 25, 1764, Dec. 1769, P, VII, 475, *Stats.*, IX, 214).
15. Long Canes, (SCG, Nov. 15, 1760; note also Fort Adventure on Savannah River—JCHA, May 25, 1764).
16. Lyles' or "Loyalls'", Beaver Creek (JCHA, Schedule for 1762 appropriation bill, names men supplying the fort; P, VIII, 184, 185, XVI, 353—plats of Samuel and Clement Mobberly and John Liles).
17. Moore, Fort, occupied by settlers in spring of 1760 when the garrison was moved to Augusta (SCG, June 21, 1760).
18. Musgrove's, later Fort William Henry; see also Aubrey's (JCHA, Schedule for 1762 appropriation bill; JC, Apr. 30, June 18, 1760).
19. Nixon's (Edward), Little River, Broad River (JCHA, Schedule for 1764 appropriation bill; JC, Dec. 7, 1762; P, XVI, 512).
20. Otterson's, Tyger River (Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, I, 333. Perhaps James Otterson, see *ibid.*, p. 298 and his advertisement, SCAGG, July 17 1767).
21. Pearson's (John), apparently on his own land on Broad River (Indian Books, VI, 218; above, pp. 156-157).
22. Pennington's (Jacob), Indian Creek (SCG, Aug. 8, 1761; JCHA, July 23, 1761; P, VI, 44, X, 248).
23. Raiford's (Philip), Little River, Broad River (Indian Books, VI, 225; Robert Mills, *Statistics of South Carolina*—Charleston, 1826—p. 555).
24. Stevens Creek (JC, Apr. 7, 1760).
25. Tobler's (John), near Fort Moore (JC, Apr. 7, 1760; Urlsperger, *Nachrichten, Ackerwerk*, pt. 4, 148).
26. Turner's (William), mouth of Little Saluda (SCG, Feb. 9, 1760, May 30, 1761).
27. Waggener's (John), Beaver Creek, Broad River (JCHA, May 25, 1764; Mills, *Statistics*, p. 555).
28. Wofford's, Fairforest Creek (P, VIII, 57).

There are likewise references to Burkhalter's fort (JCHA, May 25, 1764), and to Ott's and Rowe's forts in the Orangeburg community (Salley, *Orangeburg*, pp. 190-191).

⁶⁰ See above, p. 227, JCHA, Jan. 22, 1761. Thomas Gill, miller of the Saluda settlements (P, VIII, 599), disabled while serving in Fort Ninety Six, was granted an annuity of thirteen pounds (JCHA, Jan. 23, 24, 1761). Frauds were discovered in some of these accounts (JCHA, July 14, 23, 1761) and the Commons refused to pay several others because the certificates and names of appraisers were all in the same hand (JCHA, July 3, 1764).

vested at the risk and sometimes at the cost of their lives. With the Ninety Six garrison the Commons were more generous. First under command of Francis and then under Thomas Bell, it was continued in the provincial service until April 1761, the pay for the preceding seven and a half months amounting to nearly six hundred pounds.⁶¹

When Bull learned in July 1760 that Montgomery's force must return at once to New York, he proposed to the Commons that the four companies of British troops left at the Congarees be used with the rangers to defend the frontier, and that the province not attempt the offensive. In view of Amherst's strictures he urged the House to fill the new regiment provided for in February and to bring the old provincial companies up to three hundred. But a House committee recommended more vigorous measures, and by a bare majority the Commons resolved to raise a new regiment of a thousand men, the number including the independent troops and the three provincial companies already in service.⁶²

Recruiting proceeded slowly in the province and neighboring colonies despite the energetic efforts of Thomas Middleton, the Colonel, Henry Laurens, Lieutenant-Colonel, and their subordinate officers, among them William Moultrie and Francis Marion. In December there were 400 in the regiment, the following April about 500.⁶³ No such difficulties handicapped the ranger service. In October 1761 the Commons approved Bull's organization of the seven troops into a regiment of horse with William Thomson as major, and in January authorized enlistment of an eighth troop which the lieutenant-governor said he could immediately raise. A uniform for the men, and pay for the officers equal to that of the regimental officers, completed the evolution of Francis' and Fairchild's non-descript troops of the previous decade.⁶⁴

Much of the lieutenant-governor's time for the six months following the surrender of Fort Loudoun was taken up with futile peace talks, which may, however, have saved Fort Prince George and the frontier more than one attack.⁶⁵ More to the point were the negotiations by which 115 prison-

⁶¹ PR, XXIX, 90 (Bull to Pitt, Apr. 28, 1760), JCHA, May 28, 29, June 13, 24, 1761, *SCG*, Apr. 11, 1761 ("Rayfords" Creek is evidently a misprint for Raeburns; for location see P, X, 126, XIII, 290—Edward and Robert Box and Jacob Brooks).

⁶² JCHA, July 31, Aug. 1, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 19, 1760; *Stats.*, IV, 144–148. The "regiment" projected by the resolution of Feb. 12th preceding (see above, p. 226) was ignored; nine months pay for its 125 men was included in the appropriation act of July 31st (*Stats.*, IV, 128).

⁶³ Manuscript copy of [First] Letter of Philopatris in "Gadsden Miscellany"; JCHA, Apr. 23, 1761; *SCG*, Sept. 27, Oct. 25, Nov. 8, 15, 22, 1760; PR, XXVIII, 447 (Bull to Board, Dec. 17, 1760). For Bull's delay in issuing commissions see JCHA, Oct. 10, 13, 1760.

⁶⁴ JCHA, Oct. 14, 17, 1760, Jan. 16, 17, 1761.

⁶⁵ PR, XXVIII, 391–397, 409–415 (Bull to Board, Aug. 15, 31, Oct. 21, 1761), JC, Oct. 6, 1760, *SCG*, Oct. 25, 1760.

ers were ransomed, about 70 of them soldiers, leaving perhaps 30 captives in the nation.⁶⁶

The news of the massacre of the Fort Loudoun garrison and Bull's application to General Amherst brought another detachment of regular troops commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, Montgomery's adjutant and the chief correspondent of the 1760 expedition. The troops arrived January 6, 1761, and with the men left by Montgomery at the Congarees brought Grant's command to 1,600. Provision was made for a depot of 500,000 pounds of flour at the Congarees and for sending 1,500 head of cattle to designated points.⁶⁷ Renewed application to Virginia and North Carolina caused troops to be raised by both colonies, but neither of these forces influenced the result of the campaign.⁶⁸

By the end of March Grant had his troops at Moncks Corner ready to leave as soon as the woods afforded forage for horses and cattle. Marching by detachments and delayed by rains the force reached Ninety Six on the 14th of May, where Major Moultrie had already finished a new stockade for that fort. Here Grant organized his force for the campaign. He had on the spot 1,400 regulars, 689 provincials under Colonel Thomas Middleton, 401 rangers, and 57 Indians who were to serve as scouts, beside wagoners and negro pioneers, making a total of nearly 2,800. There were 19 Catawbans under old Hagler, accompanied by a few Mohawks who came with Grant, and these erstwhile enemies, now companions in arms, did well in the campaign. Perhaps the Indian honors went to the Chickasaws led by Colbert; fifteen of them as they set out for Ninety Six from Augusta declared that if more Cherokee peace talks were listened to they would never fight them again, "observing, that they often hear the white people say '*God damn the Cherokees,*' but never see them kill any". The western Chickasaws were gone a year from home.⁶⁹

Arriving at Fort Prince George May 27, Grant added to his force the Fort Loudoun soldiers recently ransomed. Again, as on Montgomery's approach, there was talk of peace, the Little Carpenter striving to make terms. But the redoubtable Young Warrior and Cunicatoka or the Standing Turkey of Chotee, who later succeeded Old Hop as "Emperor",

⁶⁶ PR, XXIX, 21-24, 106 (Bull to Board, Jan. 29, May 16, 1761); JCHA, Jan. 22, 23, May 7, 1761; JC, May 6, 1761; SCG, Nov. 29, 1760, May 9, June 13, 20, 1761. Some prisoners were redeemed by the Virginia governor and others were sent to the French (SCG, Dec. 6, 1760, May 9, 1761).

⁶⁷ JCHA, June 24, Oct. 6, 1760, Jan. 19, Mar. 28, Apr. 2, 1761; PR, XXVIII, 436-438, 447-448, XXIX, 17-21, (Bull to Board, Nov. 18, Dec. 17, 1760, Jan. 29, 1761); SCG, June 10, 1760.

⁶⁸ JCHA, Mar. 28, 1761, SCG, May 2, 1761.

⁶⁹ JC, July 21, Sept. 12, Nov. 17, 1761; JCHA, Mar. 28, Apr. 2, July 21, 23, 24, 1761; SCG, Mar. 21, Apr. 25, May 2, 9, 23, 30, June 20, 1761. Part of the ranger force had been reserved by Bull for protection of the southwest frontier against the Creeks (JCHA, Mar. 28, 1761).

were still for war. Accordingly on June 7th, with about 650 packhorses loaded with flour, salt and ammunition, but with no tents, Grant crossed the Keowee leaving only invalids at Prince George.⁷⁰

At eight or nine o'clock on the morning of the 10th, as he marched along the Little Tennessee, he was about two miles from the site of the battle of the year before. Here where hills rose steeply almost from the banks of the stream, the Cherokees attacked. Grant formed his regulars in columns, and, evidently expecting a duplication of the former attack, planned to have Thomson's rangers seize the hills on both sides of the river from which the Indians could fire upon those troops. Behind him Colonel Middleton and his provincial regiment had the provisions and cattle. The Cherokees, however, with a fine grasp of the strategic points in the situation, while firing upon the regulars made their chief attack upon the provincials, probably intending to cut off the provision train. Middleton sent out a party to the hills on his own right flank, and a reinforcement of a hundred men to the rear to quiet the apprehensions of the troops there who feared that, like Montgomery's rear guard, they might be abandoned. Grant refused to send troops or to allow Indians to go to the rear.⁷¹

After three or four hours of fighting the Cherokees drew off, having inflicted a loss on their enemy of 11 killed and 52 wounded. It was sheer weight of numbers rather than any difference in management by the officers or behavior of the men that made the second battle of Echoe a better story than the first. From the battle ground Grant marched his force to the town where he camped for the night. Then, leaving Middleton with a thousand men to guard the provisions, he proceeded to the destruction of the fifteen towns and fourteen hundred acres of corn and beans in the Middle Settlements. He encountered no resistance, and on the 9th of July reached Fort Prince George again, after thirty-three days in the Indian country.⁷²

A campaign against the Overhills would have been far more difficult and dangerous than the one just finished, and the Valley Towns, almost as far away though not as inaccessible, had been the least hostile of the Cherokee divisions. The results of Grant's expedition, however, were inconclusive. He had inflicted no considerable loss on the man-power of

⁷⁰ PR, XXIX, 118-120 (Bull to Board, June 19, 1761); *SCG*, May 30, June 20, 1761. 20 or 30 rangers and 13 Provincials deserted at Ninety Six (*SCG*, May 30, 1761). For Standing Turkey see JC, Dec. 18, 1761, *SCG*, Jan. 5, 1760. Bull said in May, 1760 that he had been elected (to Board, May 6th—PR, XXVIII, 331, and see *SCG*, May 3, 1760), but either this election was not confirmed, or Little Carpenter hoped to put it aside (JCHA, Sept. 15, 1761).

⁷¹ PR, XXIX, 124-126 (Bull to Board, July 17, 1761); *SCG*, July 11, 18, 25, Aug. 1, Sept. 12, 1761.

⁷² PR, XXIX, 124-126 (Bull to Board, July 17, 1761). In October Grant moved his camp to Ninety Six; in November the Provincial Regiment, much reduced by desertion and expiration of enlistment, was disbanded, but four companies of Thompson's rangers were maintained (PR, XXIX, 199-201, Bull to Board, Dec. 5, 1761; *SCG*, Oct. 10, 31, 1761).

the Cherokees, and his destruction of crops so early in the season by no means cut off all the food supply even of the Middle Towns. By returning before any move for peace had been made, he threw away any assurance of favorable terms. His force was large enough to secure his position in the Middle Settlements and the transportation of supplies from the province. The Virginia expedition was on the Holston River a hundred and fifty miles from the Overhills towns,⁷³ and the two together would have constituted a wholesome influence on the Cherokees during the peace negotiations.

The first news of the engagement caused smoldering resentments and differences to leap into flame, and this was doubtless made worse by Grant's condescending letters and the jealousy in the English province of Scotch officials.⁷⁴ The Charleston newspaper of Robert Wells, a Scot, carried laudatory accounts while Timothy's correspondents attacked Grant for failure to inflict serious loss on the Indians in the skirmish or to support the provincial troops; they recalled the treatment of the rear guard the year before, and Grant's previous charge of cowardice against the rangers. That prince of controversialists, Christopher Gadsden, speedily threw himself into the fray, and scored Grant for adopting a rigidly defensive policy with evident set purpose to destroy the food and houses of the Cherokees rather than their warriors: "who wou'd have expected" he asked, "to have heard the forces run the Gauntlet through them, only to burn a parcel of Indian huts, and pull up their corn? Were we afraid these huts and cornfields wou'd have sneaked off & not waited in their places, till the Army had sufficiently revenged the Blood of our Butchered officers and men of Fort Loudoun garrison?" Middleton was, so he and his partisans claimed, completely ignored during the campaign, and withdrew from the force when it returned to Fort Prince George. A bitter controversy arose which resulted in a bloodless duel between Grant and Middleton and a newspaper war in which Grant was championed by Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, Middleton's second in command.⁷⁵

In April Bull had sent to Grant a preliminary treaty in case the Cherokees sued for peace, but nearly two months elapsed after the return to Prince George before the Little Carpenter appeared at the fort to ask for terms. On hearing the first article which demanded execution of at least one offender from each of the four divisions of the nation, he declared that he must consult the Cherokee towns before he could consent to it. Grant instead sent him to Charleston and himself urged the lieutenant-

⁷³ See Baker-Crothers, *Virginia and the French and Indian War*, pp. 150-151. There were 600 in the force on July 26th (JCHA, Sept. 15, 1761).

⁷⁴ Note Charleston News, *SCG*, Oct. 1, and letter to editor, *SCG*, Oct. 8, 1761.

⁷⁵ *SCG*, July 25, Aug. 1, 8, Sept. 12, 1761; [First] Letter of Philopatros, and letters of John Rattray, Jan. 7, 1761, Lt. Gov. Bull, Jan. 10, Apr. 10, 1761, Middleton, July 19, 1761, Grant, July 10, 1761, included in "Gadsden Miscellany"; Letter of "Philolethes" [Laurens] MS.

governor to waive that provision. Bull called the assembly to deliberate on the proposed treaty, and a committee of the Commons reported its opinion that the omission of this article would make the treaty useless and dishonorable. The House, however, informed the lieutenant-governor that in view of the burden of debt on the province, and the apparent uselessness of expecting the commander to listen to sound advice it was constrained to approve the concession. The terms thus agreed on were delivered to the Carpenter to lay before a general meeting of the Cherokee towns, but not until the 18th of December did the little chief and eight others sign the treaty in Charleston. Far from granting terms like a conqueror, the province was put in the position of suing for peace, and its predicament reminded Gadsden of Sir John Falstaff's situation "with the prisoner he took, who would neither come along with him, nor let him come away himself."⁷⁶

The articles called for the prompt yielding up of all prisoners, negroes, horses and cattle held by the Cherokees, the surrender of Fort Loudoun and permission to the English to build forts at any points in the nation, exclusion of the French and, in the future, execution by the Cherokees of any Indian who murdered an Englishman. The line between the whites and the Indians should be drawn at forty miles distance from Keowee, a line which was proposed by the Cherokees themselves, instead of Twenty-Six Mile Creek which had first been stipulated. The trade was to be reopened when the Indians yielded up their prisoners.⁷⁷

Thus ingloriously the Cherokee War came to an end, having cost the province over a hundred thousand pounds sterling,⁷⁸ between a hundred and fifty and two hundred lives, and the devastation and partial abandonment of a large part of its area. For this there was no compensating advantage and neither province nor crown gained any prestige from it. Except for the story of the frontier forts and the behavior of subordinate officers and of the rank and file of troops, there was little to redeem the record.

⁷⁶ JCHA, Sept. 15-19, JC, Sept. 10, 15, 1761; PR, XXIX, 182-185, 199-201 (Bull to Board, Sept. 23, Dec. 5, 1761), [First] Letter of Philopatris. The next Commons House declared that the war had been without "Real advantages" to the Province (JCHA, May 28, 1762).

⁷⁷ JC, Sept. 22, Nov. 13, Dec. 14, 16-18, 28, 1761. On leaving the delegation was given, instead of the presents they expected, only the supplies necessary for their return journey, and in disgust refused them (JC, Dec. 28, 1761). It was June 1762 before the Cherokees gave up all their prisoners and the provincial authorities felt safe in releasing the Indians in Charleston (JC, June 21, 1762). Some of the prisoners were reported by one of their number to be unwilling to leave the nation (JCHA, May 28, 1761).

⁷⁸ Report of Committee of Commons, JCHA, Feb. 22, 1762; the amount was £733,079 currency.

CHAPTER XVI

THE GROWTH OF THE BACK COUNTRY, 1760-1765

In more than one way the Cherokee War, and the great Seven Years War of which it was a small phase, affected profoundly the development of South Carolina and the thinking of her people. The collapse of the worm-eaten Indian system of the colony was an effective rebuke to the Charleston merchants and the other imperialists, the officials, while to the planters was driven home the grim lesson that their slaves had made the proud and flourishing province helpless before a couple of thousand mountain-enforced savages.

Before Grant had reached the Indian country the Commons House addressed itself once more to the unending negro problem. The *South Carolina Gazette* of May 30th remarked that "The pernicious Consequences of too free an Importation of NEGROES into this Province, having lately become the Subject of serious Consideration of some public-spirited Gentlemen", a motion had been made in the assembly to impose a duty which would nearly prohibit imports of slaves. On the second reading of the bill the Commons ordered it printed in the *Gazette*; on the third it raised the proposed duty from five pounds fourteen shillings to two and a half times that amount, and set its duration at three years. On the third reading in the council or Upper House, however, the bill was rejected. The dispute was complicated by the fact that in trying to amend this bill the Upper House was tampering with a tax measure, but the chief issue was the slave duty. The Commons thereon resolved that it would do no more business during that session, and the next day Lieutenant-Governor Bull prorogued it for four days that another start might be made.¹

A new bill was introduced at once and the duty set at ten pounds, but this too was rejected by the council. The Commons next made the negro duty part of a new bill to finance the South Carolina regiment—pay for that organization being in arrears—and set the duty at five pounds. Bull indicated his approval of this action, but again the Upper House rejected the measure, after protesting that the proposed duty was prohibitive.²

The Commons now prepared an address to the lieutenant-governor declaring that it had attempted to fulfill its obligations for maintenance of

¹ *SCG*, May 30, June 6, 13 (A Letter from the Country), 1761; *JCHA*, June 5, 12, 13, July 8, 9, 1761. See also the messages of the House of June 13, and of the council of July 8 (*JCHA*, June 13, July 8, 1761).

² *JCHA*, July 14, 17, 20, 22, 24, 27, 31, Aug. 1, 4, 5, 6, 1761.

the regiment by means which "equally regard the Security & Interest of this Province", but that the council, with only three members present, had "for reasons '*best known to themselves*'" rejected the bill. On debate of the message a motion passed to substitute for the words "*best known to themselves*" the clause "*too glaring to be concealed from the world,*" but the further motion was lost which proposed to add: "*Two of whom being persons too nearly concerned in point of private Interest cannot be thought altogether the most impartial Judges of this matter.*" The three members present when the bill was rejected were Othniel Beale, senior member and stickler for the rights of the council as Upper House, and John Guerard and George Austin, both concerned in the slave trade. Thus the session came to an end.³

When the Commons took up the other half of the South Carolina problem, the encouragement of white settlement, the lesson of the war was already apparent. Had the settlers been driven in to the fall line and the middle country made the theatre of the war, the possibilities of slave insurrection would have been disturbing indeed. The middle country, which the provincial representatives and the administration had so earnestly desired to settle was now, in effect, a part of the coast country, and the more distant hill men, who had settled in their own fashion, and often with scant regard for the government, were now recognized as the real hope of the province. This was the first of a series of dear-bought lessons in the value of the back country which, with consequent concessions over the course of half a century, brought about the unification of the commonwealth.

Without controversy the Commons and council replaced the act of 1752 with one which made sweeping changes in settlement policy. Citing the fact that there was in the settlement fund over eight thousand pounds sterling, the new law appropriated that fund as follows: four pounds sterling to pay the passage from Europe "of every free poor protestant", above the age of twelve, arriving in the next three years "who shall, in case they come from *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*, produce a certificate under the seal of any corporation, or a certificate under the hands of the minister and church wardens of any parish, or the minister and elders of any church, meeting, or congregation, of the good character of such poor protestant"; two pounds for those under twelve and over two years of age; and one pound for each immigrant over two years of age for the purchase of tools and provisions. The act provided that the passage money should be paid to the settler if he had paid his passage, or, if he had not, to the shipmaster.

³ JCHA, Aug. 6, 1761, JC, Aug. 3, 4, 5, 1761. On Beale see, for instance, JCHA, May 5, 1761, JUHA, Jan. 31, 1765; on Austin and Guerard, see Elizabeth F. Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America*, IV (Washington, 1935), pp. 372, 375.

The ten-year exemption of the bounty settlers from land taxes was likewise continued.⁴

Thus the Commons abandoned its traditional opposition to immigrants unable to pay their passage, and sought to guard against the dumping of undesirables by demanding certificates of good character. No discrimination was made against German Protestants, but in view of the decline of German migration to America they probably were of secondary consideration. Any opposition the home government might have to this plan to drain off the population of the mother country was, no doubt, to be overbalanced by the need for strengthening the southern colonial frontier. The law ran for three years; its expiration came shortly after the departure of Governor Boone for England brought to an end a prolonged deadlock in public business. Lieutenant-Governor Bull urged its continuance, and its lapse for a few months preceding its three-year revival, in January 1765, was due to pressure of business.⁵

In August 1764 a renewed effort to restrict slave importation met with success. This bill added a duty of fourteen pounds six shillings to the tax in the general duty law on every slave imported.⁶ Unfortunately in exaggerated tenderness for those who had already engaged in ventures, enforcement of the act was delayed until the first day of 1766, and two weeks before that date Bull wrote that the purpose of the measure had thus in large measure been defeated, for more than eight thousand slaves had been imported during the year—a number nearly equal to a three-year importation. The “unhappy consequences” which might come from this addition to a number already too large for safety were soon foreshadowed in rumors of insurrection plots.⁷

The prohibitive duty shut off the source of income for bounty payments, but the settlement fund had since the beginning of the Cherokee War a large surplus. In September 1761 this was £10,200, and by the end of 1765 at least as much again had been added to it.⁸ Meanwhile

⁴ JCHA, July 18, 20, 23, 24, 25, 1761. The act is not to be found in Cooper's *Statutes*, but is printed in the *S. C. Gazette*, Aug. 1, 1761. Bull gives the reasons for the act but incorrectly states that £2 not £1 was to be given for provisions and tools (PR, XXIX, 188–189—to Board, Sept. 23, 1761). The clause of the act of 1751 setting aside a fifth for fees was not changed. For the tax exemption, see above p. 30, n. 36, and *Stats.*, IV, 190, 239, 269.

⁵ See JCHA, Apr. 16, 23, May 23, June 5, July 16, Aug. 25, 1764; *Stats.*, IV, 209. The act expired Feb. 12, 1768 (*SCAGG*, Feb. 15, 1768), PR, XXX, 186, 225 (Bull to Board, Aug. 20, 1764, Mar. 15, 1765).

⁶ JCHA, Aug. 14, 15, 21, 1764, Apr. 2, 1765; *Stats.*, IV, 187–188. The *S. C. Gazette* of Jan. 14, 1764, noted a determined effort to enforce the law requiring a white man on the plantations for every ten slaves. Compare a similar move in 1768 (*SCGCJ*, July 12, 1768).

⁷ PR, XXX, 300–301, XXXI, 20–21 (to Board, Dec. 17, 1765, Jan. 25, 1766); 107 slaves were reported later to have left masters and to have fled to join runaways already in Colleton County swamps (JCHA, Jan. 14, 1766).

⁸ JCHA, July 31, 1764, Treasurer's Books, 1748–1765. These Treasurer's

bounties paid to new settlers amounted to about £4,100, and payments for fees probably left in the fund at the end of 1765 nearly £15,000 which in two years more was exhausted.⁹

The settlement act of 1761 was not unwisely designed in its general outline; properly administered it should have filled up the northwest frontier with fairly compact settlements of sober industrious immigrants, and that within a comparatively short time. Unfortunately no effort was made to assure effective administration of the law; the settlement fund therefore was in the hands of several authorities, no one of whom was completely responsible—the governor and council, the commissary general, a petty official who was not dependent on his office for his livelihood, and the clerk of the council who seems to have been the chief dependence for enforcement of the act. Thus the way was left open for fraud on the part of authorities in Great Britain wishing to get rid of undesirable elements of population, and on the part of ship-masters who might wish to squeeze profits out of their wretched cargoes. It is significant that the protests against fraud and ill-treatment came as occasional outbursts in the Commons and not from administrative officials.¹⁰

Like the Yamasee War, the Cherokee conflict brought about a reaction against the merchants' policy of unregulated competition. Once more the assembly embarked upon the experiment, first tried in 1716, of government monopoly. The act which was ratified in May 1762 named five Charleston merchants as directors of the Cherokee trade, and prescribed as their commission two and a half percent of sales of goods and of skins. They were to appoint a factor to reside at Fort Prince George who was to be paid £225 a year, and was allowed two clerks and two porters; the Cherokee trade was forbidden to all other persons whatsoever, on pain of £75 fine or a year's imprisonment. The directors were to furnish the factor with goods suited to the trade, bought from merchants or imported, and sold to the Indians for no more than the cost of furnishing them and of administration; the skins were to be auctioned in Charleston to the highest bidder in lots of not over £37:10 each. The act was to run for three years, but was in force only a few months when an order of the crown nullified its exclusive features by ordering the governor to license, under certain restrictions, all traders who might apply. Governor Boone protested vainly against this action, urging that the crown extend the general plan of the

records show that the duties under the act of 1751 were collected without interruption to the end of 1765, although it does not appear when the act of 1751 was continued.

⁹ *Ibid.*, JCHA, June 24, 1766, Mar. 2, 1768. A loan of nearly £8,600 to pay the rangers for their war service was replaced as it was needed for payments for settlement expenses (JCHA, Jul. 31, 1764, Apr. 8, 1768).

¹⁰ See JCHA, Jan. 10, 16, 1755, for report on this office, and Apr. 7, 1759, Mar. 2, 1768.

South Carolina act to the other colonies with uniform and drastic regulations.¹¹

On the 5th of November 1763 the Southern Congress, planned by Colonel John Stuart, recently appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern district, convened at Augusta. The governors or lieutenant-governors of Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia were present, with chiefs from the Catawbas, Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws and Choctaws; others attending brought the total to about seven hundred persons. Of the Indians the Chickasaw headman was properly given the honor of speaking first, and said of himself: "You must not look on him as on other Indian Nations, for he is True and Trusty, he and his are few but faithful." The Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees urged the need of honest and responsible traders to reside in their towns, the Cherokees pointing out the hardship and inconvenience of having to resort from the Overhills, or even from other Lower Towns, to Fort Prince George for their trade. The Creeks complained of Georgia encroachments on their lands, and the Catawba king represented the pitiful plight of his people for lack of hunting space, and asked for a reservation thirty miles square. In the final treaties the Georgia bounds were agreed upon, the Catawbas were confirmed in a fifteen-mile square, already partly run, with their former rights of hunting outside that area.¹²

The congress did not allay the discontent of the Creeks. They had suffered little in the conflicts of the preceding generation, and their diplomacy had hitherto been uniformly successful, but now they saw their system topple about their ears, for the French and the Spanish, whom they had so successfully played off against the English, were gone. As early as July 1762 there were rumors of intended attacks on the Long Cane settlements. A year later came reports of Creek depredations on Augusta traders and of the murder of three traders to the Upper Creeks.¹³ Finally, on the heels of the Augusta congress came the news of the slaying, by a party of Creeks, of fourteen settlers. The victims belonged to a settlement on the east bank of the Savannah opposite the mouth of the Georgia Broad River, where an Indian ford crossed the larger stream. Among them were the wife and one child of James Dyer who was formerly to be found on

¹¹ JCHA, Feb. 20, May 27, 1762; *Stats.*, IV, 168-173; n. 12 below; PR, XXIX, 259-264 (Memorial of Charles Garth, November 1762), 306-307, 395-404 (Boone to Board, Jan. 9, Nov. 24, 1763; he had already pointed out the need of uniform regulations advising that the home government take the initiative "as we are more given to obedience to the Crown, than harmony with one another".—*ibid.*, 218-219—to Board, Feb. 28, 1762).

¹² PR, XXIX, 345-347 (Board to Stuart, Aug. 5, 1763), XXX, 16-123, (Journal of the Congress); *State Recs. of N. C.*, XI, 178-206.

¹³ SCG, Jul. 10, 1762, JC, June 3, Sept. 2, 1763. In August preceding raids—probably by Northward Indians—above the Waxhaw section, in which Hagler, the Catawba king, and several whites were killed, sent the Fishing Creek and Waxhaw settlers scurrying to forts (JC, Sept. 5, 1763).

the Savannah near Stevens Creek; but he and the two others named in the report were evidently squatters.¹⁴

Governor Boone issued orders for the scouring of the frontier by parties of the militia and sent a supply of arms and ammunition to the bounty settlers on the head of Long Canes, who complained that they were abandoned by the older settlers. With the approval of the council, he proposed to Governor Wright of Georgia the stoppage of the Creek trade, but the latter refused, lest it bring on a war with the whole tribe in which his colony would bear the brunt of the fight. Nor was Boone more successful with his own Commons House, for that body adhered to its resolution of December 16, 1762 to do no business with him until he should make amends for his violation of its privileges in refusing to qualify Christopher Gadsden as a member.¹⁵

Profiting by the lesson of the Cherokee War the Long Canes settlers did not attempt to leave the country, but resorted to stockade forts. Patrick Calhoun's "Fort Boone" was reported to have 140 persons in it; there were 139 in Arthur Patton's fort and about the same number at Dr. Murray's plantation on Hard Labor Creek. For a time, Calhoun later declared, the settlers ranged the woods themselves, or maintained "a Scouting Company". On the departure of Governor Boone for England, however, Calhoun repaired to Charleston, and was given command of the troop of twenty-two rangers which the Commons provided on Bull's request.¹⁶

Even before the Creek alarm had shown the need of a frontier defense near Long Canes, the Commons had declared its desire to abandon Fort Moore—now of little use because of the growth of Augusta—and to build a brick or stone fort at or near Stevens Creek. Accordingly, in January 1765 Lieutenant-Governor Bull reported to the House selection of a site that would command the Indian ford from the Creek country and protect the new French and German settlements. Later, in submitting a plan for the post, he announced his intention of naming it for the reigning Queen Charlotte.¹⁷

Archibald McClelland, a Long Canes settler, was employed by Dr. John Murray and Andrew Williamson to build the fort. In December 1766 McClelland reported that he had completed the task, using "a Cement of his Invention". The fort was placed fifty yards from the

¹⁴ *SCG*, Dec. 31, 1763, *JC*, Dec. 30, 1763. This was John Vann's abandoned settlement (above, p. 122). See *P*, V, 163, VIII, 7, 273, and *JC*, May 8, 1764, *SCG*, Oct. 8, 1764.

¹⁵ *SCG*, Jan. 28, 1764; *JC*, Mar. 7, Apr. 2, 1764; *JCHA*, Jan. 6, 1764; Smith, *S. C. as a Royal Province*, pp. 340-349.

¹⁶ *SCG*, Dec. 31, 1763, *JCHA*, May 29, June 2, 5, 1764, Mar. 5, 1767. Notations on plats indicate that Fort Boone was on Calhoun Creek on the land first surveyed for Mary Noble (above, p. 134). Patton's land was chiefly on Little River to the west, and his fort was probably there—see *P*, VII, 27, IX, 41.

¹⁷ *JCHA*, May 29, 1762, Jan. 10, 30, 1765; see also June 27, 1764.

east bank of the Savannah and a half mile below the mouth of the Georgia Broad River. A rectangle fifteen yards wide and fifty feet long, with bastions at the northwest end, can still be distinguished, the enclosed ground elevated six or eight feet above the surrounding river bottom. The portions of the wall remaining are two feet wide, made of rough field stone set in clay mortar, or, as the House committee reported it, sand and clay. The thousand pounds originally appropriated was paid accordingly, but not without censure because the new stronghold had been built in a swamp and on a sandy foundation.¹⁸ The fort was at once garrisoned by an officer and twenty-five men of the crown forces from Fort Moore.¹⁹

The directors of the Cherokee trade were allowed to continue their hopeless effort to make the trade pay despite the competition of uncontrolled private traders until repeal of the act in October 1764, six months before it was due to expire. When they finally closed up their affairs they showed a loss to the public of about £560. It was to their credit and to that of their factor at Fort Prince George, Edward Wilkinson, that this loss was not greater, for the Cherokees, the directors found, were no longer dependent on South Carolina trade. In the southwest the decline was even worse. Pensacola, because of its nearness to many of the Indian towns, developed a thriving traffic but the chief heir of Charleston was Savannah, at last grown to such estate that its shipping could take care of the needs of the trade. In 1760, when the South Carolina trade was at its height, Georgia exported 65,000 pounds of deerskins, in 1770 more than four times that amount.²⁰

When in 1729 the Crown acquired the province of Carolina there began a long-drawn-out boundary quarrel. In January 1730 Governor Johnson and George Burrington, who was during that month commissioned for his second administration of North Carolina, appeared before the Board of Trade and stated that they had agreed upon a line. After further consideration the Board decided that the boundary should parallel the Cape Fear the whole length of that river but thirty miles southwest of it. On the 9th of June, however, the day before Johnson's instructions were agreed upon, the Board read a memorial from him that "the same intent" would be answered by the following addition: "But if Waccama River lies within 30 miles of Cape Fear River then that River to be the boundary

¹⁸ JCHA, Feb. 7, Mar. 13, Oct. 29, 1765, Jul. 2, Dec. 4, 5, 9, 1766. For McClelland see P, VII, 300, VIII, 383. The description is from the present state of the fort as noted by J. Rion McKissick and the writer, Oct. 28, 1936—Lawrence Hester, Jr., of Mt. Carmel, S. C., acting as guide.

¹⁹ PR, XXX, 269–270 (Bull to Halifax, Sept. 8, 1765); Fort Prince George was largely rebuilt in 1765 (*ibid.*).

²⁰ *Stats.*, IV, 188–189; JCHA, July 19, 1764; Journal Directors Cherokee Trade, MS, Aug. 22, 1764, Dec. 19, 1765, *SCAGG*, Mar. 18, 1768, PR, XXXII, 403 (Bull to Hillsborough, Nov. 30, 1770); Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1934), p. 43; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, p. 331. In July 1764 the price of goods for Indian presents was the same in Charleston and Savannah (JCHA, July 16, 1764).

from the sea to the head thereof, and from thence to keep the distance of 30 miles Paralel from Cape Fear River to the head thereof and from thence a due West Course to the South Sea." The addition was promptly incorporated in Johnson's instructions.²¹

The Waccamaw rises within ten or fifteen miles of the Cape Fear, but flowing southwestward enters Winyah Bay more than eighty miles from that river. The proposed revision would have brought a long finger of North Carolina territory within sixty miles of Charleston, and would have given several hundred square miles of South Carolina sea coast and river swamp in exchange for a smaller area at the head of the Waccamaw. Johnson later claimed that the addition to the instruction should have provided that the Cape Fear be the boundary unless the mouth of the Waccamaw were within thirty miles of Cape Fear River, and it is possible that this was the case. The fact, however, that the wording was the same in each rendering of the clause indicates that the inadvertence was Johnson's own, and that he failed to realize the construction that would certainly be placed upon it. In October 1732 Burrington published a notice in the *South Carolina Gazette* declaring that Johnson was granting lands within the northern province, and quoted his boundary instruction, omitting, however, the clause which stipulated that the line should, from the head of Waccamaw River, parallel the Cape Fear River to its head. Two weeks later Johnson replied in the *Gazette* with a vigorous argument in support of his contention, but his letters to the Board of Trade were somewhat unconvincing.²²

Finally in January 1735 Johnson and the council laid the matter before the Commons, and a joint committee of both houses went into the question at length, putting the best possible face on the South Carolina arguments for a line paralleling the Cape Fear. In March three commissioners were sent to meet those already appointed for North Carolina and after six weeks of consultation "the Friendly interposition" of Gabriel Johnston, now governor of North Carolina, brought about a compromise. The boundary thus defined was to begin on the seacoast thirty miles southwest of the Cape Fear, and it was to run northwest to latitude thirty-five, thence west to the South Seas, with a provision that the Catawbias and Cherokees should be included in South Carolina. For a strip of land fifty miles long and from three to fifteen miles wide the southern commissioners yielded up a claim to the immense area north of the thirty-fifth parallel and west of the Cape Fear River.²³

²¹ A. S. Salley, *The Boundary Line between North and South Carolina*, (Columbia, 1929), pp. 3-4, *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, III, 84; PR, XIV, 134-136 (Johnson's memorial).

²² PR, XV, 233-234 (Johnson to Board, Sept. 28, 1732), Salley, *Boundary Line*, pp. 4-5.

²³ *State Recs. of N. C.*, XI, 20-22, 25-26, JUHA, Jan. 25, 1735, *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, IV, 294-296; Salley, *Boundary Line*, pp. 6-15.

When the South Carolina council had given its approval and the Commons a tacit consent the commissioners in May 1735 began the survey of the boundary. After running it a few miles inland they separated for the summer with the agreement that if either party failed to return in September, the other would run a line that should bind both. Accordingly in the absence of the South Carolina commissioners the North Carolina surveyors ran the line "about 70 miles"; in October the other party traced the line for forty miles, and, finding it so far correct, desisted. The Board of Trade accepted the boundary thus irregularly established, but the filling up of the Peedee country and disorder and tax evasion almost immediately made the problem more serious than before. Both provinces were dissatisfied, and in 1755 Governor Dobbs and the North Carolina council sought a change which would have made the Peedee the boundary, while the South Carolinians, who had never been entirely reconciled to the compromise of 1735, took advantage of the fact that the agreement had not been formally ratified by the assembly, and proposed in their turn a radical change. An ably written report of both houses in 1757 urged the crown to grant to South Carolina, in compensation for the territory included in Georgia, the upper portions of the Santee and Peedee valleys. Arguments were offered to show that this would suit the needs of the settlers of those regions, whose best market was Charleston, and that the white population thus annexed to the colony would be an effective counter-balance for the slaves of the tidewater. The report was transmitted to the Board, but the Seven Years War left little time for province or crown to think of the boundary.²⁴

The Cherokee treaty of 1761 vaguely fixed the boundary between South Carolina and that tribe at forty miles distance from Keowee without indicating the directions it should take. When the line was surveyed in 1766 it was run direct from the Reedy River to the Savannah, crossing the Cherokee road at right angles at the proper point. A year later Governor Tryon of North Carolina, with commissioners and some Cherokee headmen, ran the line north from the Reedy River fifty-three miles to Tryon Mountain, and thus completed the boundary between both provinces and the Cherokee country. Tryon found no settlers within the line, and only two near it, but the Indians had previously complained to Bull that there were whites within twelve or fifteen miles of their towns. He promised them that they should be removed, and apparently this was done.²⁵

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13, 16-17; *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, V, xxxvii-xxxviii, 276, 381-382, 384, 1105, VI, 776-777; above, pp. 95-96; JCHA, May 3, Sept. 3, 1754, Apr. 28, 1757; PR, XXVII, 269-276 (Report accompanying Lyttelton's letter to Board, May 24, 1757).

²⁵ JC, Dec. 6, 1763; PR, XXXI, 70 (Bull to Board, June 9, 1766); Mouzon, *Map of N. and S. C.*, *Col. Recs. of N. C.*, VII, 851-855; *State Records of N. C.*, XI, map opposite p. 80, SCAGG, July 10, 1767 (Tryon's line was ratified by the Cherokees at Hard Labor Creek—*ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1768); PR, XXX, 184-185 (Bull to

The South Carolina hopes of annexing lands in the valleys of the Yadkin, Catawba and upper Broad proved vain, for in 1762 the Board of Trade recommended that the thirty-fifth parallel be made the boundary to the Catawba nation. Accordingly in 1764 commissioners resurveyed the existing line extending it to the point they calculated to be the thirty-fifth parallel, and then ran it west until they struck the Salisbury road, a few miles below the northeastern tip of the Catawba reservation. Lieutenant-Governor Bull promptly informed the Board that the new line fell far short of the western edge of settlement and therefore proposed that it include the Catawbas, and thence follow the Catawba River to the mountains. Governor Tryon of course urged that the line be continued due west from its terminus. The arguments were taken up anew in 1769 by the Board and with it the findings of James Cook, who had been employed in 1767 as one of the surveyors to make a map of the province. Cook showed that the surveyors of the line of 1764 had run it eleven miles south of the thirty-fifth parallel, and compensation for this error was all that the South Carolinians gained. In 1771 the crown ordered the line run north of the Catawbas to the south fork of the river, thence west to the recently run Cherokee line. The survey was made in 1772 and the region thus annexed west of the Catawbas was called the New Acquisition.²⁶

With this action the eventual limits of South Carolina were fairly indicated, for when the later Cherokee cessions were made the line as completed merely filled out the bounds already projected. Thus by a combination of circumstances, perhaps the most important being Johnson's blunder in 1730, South Carolina was confined within an area smaller than that of any of the lower southern colonies or states, and was given a disproportionately small amount of hill and mountain country—a fact that was to be of great importance in extending the plantation influence over the commonwealth.

That settlement under the act of 1761 should be slow to get under way was inevitable because of war conditions in South Carolina and on the seas. In anticipation, John Pouag, a Charleston merchant, applied immediately after the act was passed for a certificate of the bounty that he might transmit it to Ireland. A year later Pouag and six others in a petition to the governor declared that there were many in Ireland who would, with proper encouragement, come to the province. They asked for a survey and reservation of forty thousand acres, to form one or two townships, in such places as they might choose; in addition to the bounty they expected tax and quit rent exemption for the settlers for ten years.²⁷

Board, Aug. 20, 1764); JCHA, Jan. 17, 1766 (bill of Aaron Price "for assisting to remove several persons who had encroached on the Indians Land at Reedy River").

²⁶ Salley, *Boundary Line*, pp. 16-30; JC, June 29, 1764; *Stats.*, IV, 262-264.

²⁷ JC, Aug. 29, 1761, June 9, 1762.

The Reverend John Baxter, first of the petitioners—formerly Presbyterian minister near Charleston, later on the Santee and Black Rivers—had imported some of the early settlers of Williamsburg from Belfast. In a petition for land in 1745 he stated that he had twenty-five negroes, and in later years he added to his possessions in slaves and lands, most of the latter in or near Williamsburg.²⁸ John Greg was a merchant of London, John Rae had the name of the minister who had served Williamsburg from 1743 to 1761, and David Rae was doubtless a connection. John Torrans and Pouag appear about this time as a merchant firm in Charleston.²⁹

On the advice of the council Boone gave the petitioners permission to choose sites for two townships; in October they reported that they had found suitable places and in December the surveys were made. One containing 20,500 acres lay on the head of Long Cane Creek, with its center a mile below the crossing of the Cherokee path, its northwestern tip slightly above the site of the present town of Due West, its northeastern line paralleling and including the course of the later Columbia and Greenville Railroad. This township was named Boonesborough, although surveyors occasionally called it Belfast. The other township, 22,000 acres in area, was named Belfast and later called Londonborough. Hard Labor Creek entered it at the center of its northeastern edge and left it near the lower end of its southeastern line, being at that point only about a mile from the junction with Cuffytown Creek.³⁰

In February Governor Boone informed the council that about seventy persons had arrived from Ireland on the encouragement of the act of 1761. Besides the three warrants for a total of sixteen hundred acres for the Reverend John Baxter there were forty-two petitions based on seventy-one headrights. Plats for ten of these petitioners are not to be found; sixteen of them had their plats surveyed adjoining each other about the crossing over Long Cane Creek; eight were in a group in the northwestern corner of the township, some of them appearing to be entirely outside the lines. None of the Reverend John Baxter's land was surveyed in the Long Canes. In 1765 about a score of bounty immigrants applied for war-

²⁸ Above, p. 79; JC, Feb. 27, 1736, Jul. 5, 1737, May 11, 1745, Jan. 7, Apr. 7, 1752, May 21, 1759; Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, I, 204, 255-256.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 254, 283, *SCHSC*, II, 101, *SCG*, Jul. 6, 1765, *JCHA*, June 5, 1764, Jan. 27, 1768.

³⁰ JC, Oct. 22, 1762; the instructions to Lyttelton and Boone authorized the governor to set off new townships as they might be needed, (Nov. 4, 1755, Nov. 11, 1761). Both plats are in the state archives. For further location of the first see P, VII, 467, VIII, 219, 238, XV, 110, XVIII, 182; for the second see P, XVII, 502, XVIII, 446, XXA, 47 (plats on or near Calabash Creek). The Belfast-Londonborough township is treated as two separate townships in Wallace, *History of S. C.*, II, 44, the latter in the correct location, the former below it on Stevens Creek. The marks on this plat and the plats of individual settlers referred to above show it to have been on Hard Labor, while no individual plats have been found to identify a township below. There was no room above the township, for it bordered Hamilton's Great Survey.

rants which were surveyed in or near Boonesborough, their headrights representing about fifty persons. This was the only considerable single accession to the township.³¹

The next township to be settled originated in a new movement of French Huguenots. In July 1763 the crown referred to the Board of Trade the memorial of the Reverend Jean Louis Gibert asking concessions for settling a colony of Huguenots in South Carolina. The crown finally agreed with Alexander McNutt, who proposed to transport the group to South Carolina, directed the governor to lay out a township for them, and ordered the expense of surveying their lands to be paid from the crown quit rents. The 112 males and 61 females listed appear to have come to England during the summer of 1763 in anticipation of aid. Those who arrived in South Carolina were chiefly husbandmen, handicraftsmen and vinegrowers, and beside Gibert himself there was another pastor.³²

After a seven-weeks voyage of hardship and danger they arrived in Charleston April 14, 1764. Since the season was too far advanced for the immigrants to get to their new homes and make a crop the governor and council decided to send them for four months to Fort Lyttelton, near Beaufort, where they could plant corn, potatoes, pumpkins and pease to eke out their living. They were given a daily ration of a pound of flour and a quart of corn, and for their meat a steer was promised for the group each week. They were allowed to choose three of their number, who would be provided with horses and a guide, to select land for their settlement. Special warning was given them against dissension, Boone observing that they had as many opinions as men in their number, but the anticipated trouble began immediately and resulted in the sending of fourteen of them to Purrysburg.³³

At the end of May the deputies returned to town with their guide Patrick Calhoun; finally in July, with wagons to carry their baggage and tools, most of the men set out from Charleston. Governor Boone, giving up his struggle with the Commons, had returned to England and it was Bull who sent the minute directions to Calhoun for purchasing provisions and surveying town, township and lands for the settlers. The worthy lieutenant-governor reminded the surveyor of "my present good opinion of your honesty" and told him that he would be repaid for his trouble by the surveying fees. The town Bull called New Bordeaux for the city "from whence many of them came", the township he named for the Earl of Hillsborough, then a member of the Board of Trade. The

³¹ JC, Feb. 19, 1763, Nov. 5, Dec. 4, 1765. Among the forty-two petitions was one of John Baxter.

³² *SCHSC*, II 82-93. Note that one of the immigrants, Pierre Moragne, left his home near St. Foy, July 30, 1763 (*Address, Delivered at New Bordeaux. . . . S. C., Nov. 15, 1854. . . .* by W. C. Moragne, Charleston, 1857). The *S. C. Gazette* of Sept. 21, 1763 stated that about a thousand Huguenots had lately come to England from about Bordeaux.

³³ Moragne, *Address*, JC, Apr. 16, 24, Aug. 2, 1764.

township—which contained 28,000 acres including 2,000 acres for earlier settlers—was only six or seven miles from the mouth of Little River and thus, like other piedmont areas so situated, was deeply cut by the large streams. It was for this reason that the earlier settlers had taken up the gentler slopes of the valley above, leaving this area vacant except for a dozen plats. The land itself was for the most part quite fertile, being generally a red clay overlaid by accumulated vegetable mould, and Calhoun marked on the plat the “Valluable”, Good, Middling, and Bad and Scrub Oak land. Comparison of the plat with the face of the land today shows that the soil underlaid by deep red clay he considered good. Half a mile below the junction of Long Cane and Little River Calhoun surveyed the town, 198 lots of an acre each; above it, on both sides of the stream, a vineyard plot of 44 4-acre lots; below the town was a common of 195 acres, and a glebe of 300 reserved for an Anglican minister.³⁴

Bull's carefully made out instructions directed that the settlers build first their homes and a palisade fort, the latter to be not less than a hundred and twenty feet square and to serve likewise as a storeroom for provisions. Roger, whom he had appointed justice of the peace and to whom he had given Simpson's *Justice* as a guide, Pierre Boutiton, the minister, Due, captain of the militia, and his lieutenant and ensign, were to be given the first choice of lands and the five of them were to be a council for the settlement.³⁵

On the 5th and 7th of August the two parties of Huguenots reached their new home. Calhoun reported in October that they had set up six houses, and that frames were ready for fourteen more, indicating that they were building plank rather than log houses. For a time they were plagued with boils and other ills, but three months later Calhoun wrote that they were recovered of their “indisposition”. The remaining settlers did not leave Charleston until January, with wagons carrying the weak and infirm. With this group went also vessels for brewing and silk-making. Pierre Moragne, one of their number who left a brief diary of the voyage and the settlement, wrote that in February 1765, after completion of the barracks, “I have begun to labor on my own land—on my half-acre, and afterwards on my four acres, The 13th June I finished planting in corn and beans all of the land which I had been able to prepare—being then very feeble, having only a little corn to eat, and being placed under the necessity of grinding it at an iron mill. Though we have not a sufficiency, yet, with the aid of God, we may always have enough to keep us from

³⁴ JC, May 28, Jul. 13, 1764, PR, XXX, 185 (Bull to Board, Aug. 20, 1764), Plats of Hillsboro Township (there are two, identical except for shading and notes to show quality of soil). The plats of the township do not show James Davis' plat of 150 acres formerly surveyed for him at the mouth of Long Cane which was bought for the site of the town (P, VI, 157, JC, Oct. 17, 1764).

³⁵ JC, Jul. 13, 1764. See William Simpson, *Practical Justice of the Peace* (Charlestown, R. Wells, 1761), “compiled for the Instructions of the Justices of this Province.” (Bull's letter of Mar. 15, 1765—see n. 36).

starving till our little harvest comes in. . . . The 16th July, 1765. I am married—" to Cecile Bayle, whose hundred acres had been in April preceding surveyed adjoining his.³⁶

In January 1765 Bull reported that nearly £600 had been expended, about £140 of it being paid out of the quit rents on order of the crown. At that time £214 more was assigned from the settlement fund for purchase of provisions for the colony. On April 18, 1764, immediately after their arrival in Charleston, 81 of the French had applied for land and bounty; 50 of them were single men, 9 were single women; the other 22 petitions represented 72 persons. 25 of those petitioning do not appear in the records thereafter—death, departure from the province or inexpediency doubtless accounting for their failure to take up the land. 4 of the others had their land in or near Purrysburg; 3 are found near Hillsborough but not in it. Plats representing the headrights of the other 73 were surveyed in the township in little groups along Long Cane and Little River, and on their smaller tributaries—the latter being preferred to the former, and the groups of plats corresponding closely to the areas marked by Calhoun as good land. Gibert's plat was not surveyed until 1768; Etienne and Marie Thomas appear in 1769 near the township as Steven and Mary Thomas.³⁷

The Reverend Mr. Gibert, the original leader of the colony, did not immediately settle at New Bordeaux, leaving the ministerial work to the Reverend Pierre Boutiton. Instead he devoted himself for the ensuing year, under the patronage of Gabriel Manigault, to raising silk on the site of Governor Nathaniel Johnson's ancient venture—Silk Hope on the Cooper River. Here he made in his first season 620 pounds of cocoons, from which he expected to get 50 pounds of silk. With this he went to England and persuaded some public-spirited gentlemen there to lend a hundred pounds sterling towards building a silk filature in South Carolina, and the Commons voted £143 from the township fund to that purpose. At the same time a few more French immigrants appeared, said to be skilled in silk culture, and were sent to New Bordeaux. A year later the Commons appropriated £433 for purchasing silk cocoons. For a time the new silk venture in South Carolina offered promise of success, but it was in Purrysburg that the production centered. Efforts at raising hemp and wine eventually netted the same negligible results.³⁸

³⁶ JC, Oct. 17, 1764, Jan. 30, 1765, *SCG*, Oct. 8, 1764, Moragne, *Address*, P, VIII, 139, 140, JCHA, Jan. 18, 1765. Bull urged the French settlers as well as their neighbors, the Germans of Londonborough, to plant hemp, and supplied each township with several bushels of seed (PR, XXX, 249—Bull to Board, Mar. 15, 1765).

³⁷ JCHA, Jan. 18, Feb. 11, 1765; JC, Apr. 18, 1764; P, VIII, 216, 447, 532, IX, 455, X, 132, XI, 175, XVI, 54.

³⁸ *SCG*, Aug. 3, 1765, JCHA, June 7, 10, 24, 26, 27, 1766, Apr. 15, 1767. See above pp. 36–37, and compare the later design of Jean Louis DuMesnil de St. Pierre (PR, XXXIII, 91–92—his petition to Board, Nov. 15, 1771); *SCGCJ*, June 28, 1768, Apr. 6, 1772, JCHA, Feb. 24, Mar. 2, 1768). For hemp see also *SCG*, Oct. 8, 1764, Jan. 7, 1765, July 7, Nov. 10, 1766.

Under circumstances not unlike those of the French settlement there came in 1764 a somewhat belated group of Germans. In September 1764 the crown heard the petition of benevolent Englishmen who had succored about four hundred emigrants from the Palatinate and other parts of Germany, led to England by a too hopeful immigration agent. The crown accordingly issued an order for them to be sent to South Carolina with the same exemptions and aids given the French. The first shipload, which arrived in December, "were all sick," Lieutenant-Governor Bull said tersely, "20 died on the Passage and 20 more within 3 days after their landing." Others arrived afterward, and among all who landed there were 45 deaths of those over two years of age. The bounty was paid on 262 others, and warrants were issued to 116 representing headrights of 272 persons. Since infants under three were allowed no bounty but were included in headrights, it is probable that a considerable number of the Germans did not apply for land. 17 of the petitioners cannot be found; the others, on headrights of 233 persons, had their warrants surveyed on the branches of Stevens Creek.³⁹

On receipt of the order of the crown for the settlement of these Germans Bull sent an express to Patrick Calhoun to build them a log hut at the spot designated for their settlement; the surveying of the lands, however, was to be done by John Fairchild. The first party which went up chose land south of Ninety Six as being more secure from the Indians, although the lieutenant-governor evidently wished to plant them fifteen miles beyond Hillsborough near the Indian line, and remarked that they had chosen land not so good. It was perhaps this disagreement which caused his reference to "their Obstinacy in refusing to go to their Lands till it was too late to expect the Crops" although it may have been an unwillingness to go up during the winter which occasioned the delay. The result was that some were brought to want within the year. Andrew Williamson, who lived near the proposed settlement, received Bull's further instructions about the building of shelters for the settlers. The lieutenant-governor appointed militia officers and made Frederick Nicholas Myer, "a Man of Learning", justice of the peace, furnishing him with Simpson's guide. He sent several bushels of hemp seed, urging the Germans, as he had the French, to go "with their whole strength" next year on that crop. In March he reported that the first party which went up in January had now finished their "Huts".⁴⁰

Bull evidently had intended to set another township near Boonsboro on or near the Indian boundary. But the choice of lands by the Germans fell partly if not wholly within the limits of the thinly settled Belfast, and on Hard Labor Creek, probably in this township, Fairchild laid out the

³⁹ JC, Dec. 14, 24, 1764, Jan. 31, Feb. 27, 1765, PR, XXX, 234-235 (Bull to Board, Dec. 21, 1764).

⁴⁰ JC, Dec. 24, 1764, Jan. 30, Feb. 26, Mar. 20, Oct. 11, 1765; PR, XXX, 248-249 (Bull to Board, Mar. 15, 1765).

town which the settlers ignored. Bull therefore appears to have thought it useless to survey another township, and named the settlement Londonborough. This name appears on plats in Belfast while the name Belfast nearly disappears except on maps which attempt to resolve the discrepancy of two names for one township by placing another on Stevens Creek.⁴¹

The Germans were by no means willing to confine themselves to the limits of the township, however, and were indulged in their choice of lands in groups on nearly all the upper branches of Stevens Creek; a comparatively small number established themselves in the township, where a dozen plats were surveyed on or near Hard Labor Creek. As many were surveyed six or seven miles away on both sides of Horse Pen Creek between its mouth and the crossing of a path to Ninety Six. Two plats surveyed at the mouth of the creek were said to be "at the place called Cuffee Town" and a dozen were on Cuffytown Creek near this point. But the chief preference of the newcomers was for the network of small streams five or ten miles east of the township near the point where Little Stevens, Sleepy, Log and Turkey Creeks run together. Here in a three or four mile radius fifty plats were surveyed, strung out along the small watercourses, usually including both banks, in stretches two or three miles long.

The German settlements on the branches of Stevens Creek were so situated as to invite association and eventually amalgamation with the English settlers, and are to be compared with the Congaree, New Windsor, and to a certain extent with the Orangeburg German establishments rather than with the great isolated Dutch Fork.

With the exception of the Londonborough settlement the movement of Germans into the colony under the bounty act practically ceased with the Cherokee War, only about sixty others applying for land, a third of them on the bounty. The warrants were sought chiefly on the Broad and Saluda and in the German portions of the middle country.

During the years 1763 to 1765 about 300 individuals, besides those already accounted for in the townships, were listed as applying in groups, large and small, for land on the bounty. Except for a score of Germans they seem to have been entirely immigrants from Northern Ireland. The land records show them in striking contrast with the township settlers and with the bounty immigrants before the Cherokee War. Less than 50 can be identified in the provincial land records, and these are distributed rather evenly over the area of the province. This is in full accord with the report of the Commons committee of 1768 which charged that many of the immigrants for whom the bounty was paid were brought in as indented servants, their headrights used by their masters, and the persons kept in servitude, in double violation of the intent of the law.⁴² These probably

⁴¹ P. VIII, 105, plat of Philip Zimmerman, see note 30; for the name see Bull's letter of Mar. 15, 1765 (n. 40).

⁴² JCHA, Mar. 2, 1768.

stayed in the settled areas after their terms expired, lacking the money or perhaps the initiative to take up land. The wisdom of the Commons policy in the early period, of discouraging the immigration of any but free Europeans, was thus abundantly confirmed.

In addition to these bounty immigrants who came in groups there were, chiefly between 1763 and 1765, about 50 individual applications for land on the bounty by persons of British name whose headrights amounted to about 120. Nearly all of them can be found on the land; half went into the upper Savannah valley, most of them about the Long Canes; the middle country received nearly half of the remainder. There were about 30 petitions for the king's bounty, two-thirds of them for land in the middle country, the rest in the back country. The headrights were about 50.

Thus the bounty act of 1761 had by the end of 1765 brought into the colony about 700 persons, of whom probably 450, perhaps 500, settled in the back country. The results for the expenditure of money compared but ill with those of the period of the 'thirties; nevertheless the three townships, especially Hillsborough, were valuable acquisitions.

Besides the bounty petitions there were about 2,500 applications for land in South Carolina between 1760 and 1765⁴³ for a total of about 525,000 acres. 20% of the warrants, including, however, 30% of the acreage, were for land in the tidewater region—a hundred of them in or near Purrysburg and a fourth as many in Williamsburg. The headrights for these tidewater warrants amounted to about 3,100 persons.⁴⁴ Two-thirds of the warrants were for persons already landholders of the section, less than 20% appearing clearly to be newcomers. Over half the warrants were in 1764 and 1765, and few of them were for as much as a thousand acres.

For land in the great and thinly settled middle country there were about 900 warrants, the acreage amounting to nearly 185,000; only three or four petitioners applied for as much as a thousand acres. Somewhat more than 40% of these middle country warrants were for men who already owned nearby land; about the same proportion of the applicants were newcomers to the province, and less than 10% came from other portions of the colony. The total of headrights was about 3,300. Two-thirds of these warrants were in 1764 and 1765.

A fifth of the middle country warrants were for the fertile and slightly settled areas on and between the Black and Santee; a sixth were for land on the Peedee and its branches, with the Wateree, the Savannah, and Lynches River taking each a somewhat smaller share, and Amelia, the Congarees and the Edisto attracting each about 8% of the total. Scarcely

⁴³ This excludes about 500 warrants for which no plats appear to have been surveyed, and which could not be identified by the warrant.

⁴⁴ Under the instructions of 1755 (above, p. 20, n. 9) the head of the household received 100 acres, the headrights of the others were 50 acres each. Therefore in the case of new settlers allowance for this must be made.

more than a score applied for land in the Coosawhatchie-Salkehatchie region. Nearly 40% of the middle country applicants appear to have been newcomers, the proportions—about 50%—being highest among those asking for land on the Savannah.

For back country sections there were nearly 1,100 warrants for a total of about 180,000 acres, nearly a third of them for land in the Broad River valley. The Enoree and Tyger, with their long branches and good land, were sought by more than a hundred of the applicants, whose headrights represented about 350 persons, 60% of them appearing to be new settlers. A dozen families settled as far up as the three forks of the Tyger. Nearly 200 headrights, 45% of them new settlers, were on the east side of the Broad below Sandy River, while on the Sandy and on Turkey Creek and their branches and the land between, there were 150 headrights of whom 60% were new. Above Turkey Creek on the east side, and on the Pacolet and Thicketty Creek on the west side there were few plats, and of the 25 warrants for a hundred headrights 70% were for newcomers. On the west side below the Enoree there were a score of warrants, representing scarcely 40 headrights, less than half of the petitioners being new.

A score of Germans, chiefly bounty settlers, procured warrants for this valley, and most of them settled elsewhere than in the German settlements. Hardly 10% of the applicants for Broad River valley land can be identified as coming from other portions of the province, most of them from the middle country, the others from various parts of the back country. Nearly 30% of the total were persons already owning land in the section who were enlarging their holdings. The remainder cannot be identified.

Next to the Broad the valley of the Catawba-Wateree tempted the new settler or encouraged the old to add to his lands. The 300 or more warrants here and on the upper waters of Lynches River to the east amounted to over 40,000 acres, about 55% of the headrights representing persons new to the province, while a third were resident already in the region. Nearly 40% of the warrants (over half for newcomers) were for land in the Catawba valley, the long courses of Fishing and Rocky Creeks attracting settlers, as did the Enoree and Tyger in the valley of the Broad. The east side of the Wateree between the Waxhaws and Fredericksburg Township accounted for little over 15%, the Lynches River section a slightly smaller number, the proportion of newcomers in each being about 40%. The west side of the Wateree drew about 10% of the total, two-thirds of them newcomers, and the Waxhaws, the best settled region in 1760, the smallest number—somewhat less than 10%, half of them new settlers. About 20 applicants came from the back country, Williamsburg, or the middle country.

The Savannah valley, which showed such weakness during the Cherokee War and the Indian troubles following, was the object of the solicitude of the officials, and here were laid off and settled the three townships for

the 400 French, German and Scotch bounty settlers. There were in addition a score of bounty warrants on Long Cane or Little River representing 50 persons. Of the non-bounty petitions the Savannah valley drew 250, with an acreage of about 43,000. Two-thirds of the petitioners, representing 500 persons, over half of them newcomers, asked for land on Little River and Long Cane and their branches. On Stevens Creek and its tributaries were to be found less than a fifth of the non-bounty headrights, over half for new settlers, the headrights amounting to 125 persons; and on Rocky River, beyond Little River were a score of families, half of them new, with headrights of 50 persons.

A dozen of these Savannah valley settlers, perhaps more, came from the middle and back country. Among them was Andrew Pickens, son of the Waxhaw militia captain, who in 1762 had 250 acres surveyed on Little River, and John Pickens, whose plats were run out on Little River and Rocky River. Andrew Pickens' plat adjoined that of James Gamble, who was himself probably from the Waxhaws.⁴⁵

On the Saluda, oldest of the back country settlements, there were about 185 warrants, amounting to 35,000 acres, with headrights totalling nearly 600. A third of the petitions—about 200 headrights—were for land on Bush River and Little River and on the east side of the Saluda below Reedy River, half of them by newcomers. A fifth were on Little Saluda and the streams below Ninety Six Creek; apparently less than half of these were for newcomers, and the headrights represented about a hundred persons. A sixth of the total was to be found on Ninety Six Creek, and another sixth on the Reedy and its branches. But, whereas only a quarter of the Ninety Six warrants were for new settlers, practically all of those on the Reedy were newcomers; the headrights were respectively about 100 and 70. On the east side of the river, below Bush River, were half a dozen warrants. 15 or 20 of the Saluda warrants were for settlers from the middle and back country.

To the 1759 back country population of 7,000, there were added between 1760 and 1765, as far as the land records may be taken as an index, about 3,600 persons, 700 of them brought in on the bounty. The land records of course took no account of shifts of population by death or removal to other colonies; on the other hand, the natural increase among the Germans was to a very slight degree represented in the land warrants, for few of them took out additional warrants in this period.

It is obvious that most of the non-bounty immigrants were part of the great movement of settlers south from western Pennsylvania and Virginia, and probably the greater part of them were Scotch-Irish.⁴⁶ Prior to the

⁴⁵ See P, VII, 369, VIII, 363, *SCG*, Oct. 8, 1763, Dec. 1, 1766 (advts. of John Pickens), above pp. 138-139, 145-146; J. B. Longacre and J. Herring, *National Portrait Gallery*, (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1836), III.

⁴⁶ See Lieutenant-Governor Bull's statement about the immigrants in 1773 (PR, XXXIII, 273-274, Bull to Board, June 14, 1773).

Cherokee War there seem to have been few who settled in the middle or back country who did not speedily appear as headrights, but with the partial removal of the Indian menace and the rapid increase of immigration from the north, the number of idle and landless persons increases, and after 1764 perhaps rapidly.⁴⁷ Included in the back country headrights were probably 600 or 700 slaves, who with the 200 or 300 of 1759 made a total of nearly 10% of the population.⁴⁸ Some of these were acquired by dubious means, no doubt, for James Parsons in 1763 complained that it had lately become a pernicious custom for back settlers, when they met with runaways, to publish deceptive advertisements and to keep the negroes.⁴⁹

The four years since the Cherokee treaty of 1761 had thus brought a fifty percent increase in the population of the back country, which was now a region of about ten thousand souls, with the vanguard of settlement within fifty miles of the eventual South Carolina boundary. In the more extensive but still thinly settled middle country were about twelve thousand. The process of filling up and strengthening the province, begun at the time of its acquisition by the crown, was in a manner complete. Primarily the result of economic forces of the old and new world it had nevertheless been due in part to government enterprise. The officials of the provincial and royal governments had in the main served its purposes faithfully. The planters, too, by fits and starts had given it earnest thought: at one time they looked to it in joyful confidence; at another they turned to it in bitter discouragement and dread; between times they forgot about it in the press of their own affairs. Now, with the white population of the middle and back country sufficient to insure protection against Indian and negro enemies, they turned their attention to other things. In the new issues that successively faced the colony in the decade preceding the Revolution the back country at times figured largely, but no longer as a mere reserve of man-power. It was now a section of the province with its own problems.

But the period of thirty-seven years since the appointment of Governor Johnson had accomplished far more than the settling of two-thirds of the area of the later state, and giving it—as far as concerned the whites—the racial composition it was to retain through two centuries. The settlement of the interior of North and South Carolina and the extension of population along the coast had brought the rice country into close physical contact with its neighbors to the north, and South Carolina, which in 1729 had

⁴⁷ See, for instance, *SCG*, June 8, 1765.

⁴⁸ Only the occasional references supplied by wills and inventories and newspaper advertisements give hints of the number of slaves. Comparison of these with similar references for the years preceding and with the headrights recorded in land petitions before 1756 suggests this figure.

⁴⁹ See *SCG*, Jan. 29, Oct. 22, 1763.

much of the appearance of a West Indian colony, became like the mainland settlements.

The most interesting result of this expansion, however, was the establishment in the back country of a population that in its economic conditions and its social trends was very different from that of the tidewater. In its essential characteristics, and to a less degree in its connections, it was merely an extension southwestward of the piedmont society and population of the more northern colonies, as the rice and indigo plantations in turn were now a part of the wealthy and highly developed coast country of the English mainland.

But the other forces—the artificial though real boundaries set up by the British and provincial governments, the geographic situation that made Charleston the trading outlet of the whole area between the Peedee and the Savannah, the history of the last thirty years in which a vigorous and capable government had partly determined the lines of provincial expansion, and therefore had more than the usual influence over it—all tended to mark off the South Carolina tidewater, middle country and piedmont as sections or portions of a single commonwealth.

The tidewater and back country were indeed two commonwealths, one highly developed, cultivated and confident; the other new, raw, slightly organized and uncertain of itself. Nevertheless the good qualities that characterized so large a part of the piedmont population promised to make it a vigorous though sadly handicapped rival of the older society. They were different and in many respects hostile, but not to such an extent that it was altogether impossible for them to find common ground. They were widely separated by distance and interests, but their connections were real and the bonds already established were of some strength. Nor were the areas and present and potential populations so large as to prevent effective operation upon the two by the factors tending to bring about a closer union. No situation better calculated to stimulate both groups and to challenge leadership could have been devised.

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V I T A

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